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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
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Volume XXI

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Number 5

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

THE MEETINGS AT ITHACA

After twenty years the philologists and archaeologists, now reinforced by the College Art Association and the Linguistic Society of America, again invaded Ithaca. It was the third occasion on which the Philological society had held its meeting at Cornell. The situation of the Cornell campus never fails to elicit expressions of enthusiastic admiration from all visitors for its glorious views over lake and valley. Most of the delegates were housed at Sage College. The magnificent college union, Willard Straight Hall, was the gastronomic headquarters and its cafeteria was warmly commended for its convenience, its excellence, and its inexpensiveness.

The program of the meeting was well selected. One or two of the papers had a pleasant flavor of archaeology. Considering the crowded condition of the program, there was a good amount of discussion. It remains true, however, that a point of grammar or linguistics will call forth argument when everything else fails. At one point of the proceedings, President Laing spoke feelingly of the "yawning cavern of silence that opens up after many of the best papers." The joint meeting on the first evening was held in the Baker Laboratory of Chemistry. It was marred only by the poor acoustics of the lecture-room, which veiled the utterances of most of the speakers from a large part of the audience.

Perhaps the most important single session was that of Wednes-

day morning. It took the form of a memorial to Professor Gildersleeve. Six of the foremost scholars of the Association, Miller, Scott, Flickinger, Heidel, Kelsey, and Robinson, a rare galaxy, read papers on this occasion. Only the first two dealt directly with the departed scholar. Miller discussed him as a scholar, Scott, as a teacher. The latter presented a *mélange* of Gildersleevian dicta. An interesting feature of the occasion was the presence of Professor Sihler, the first to take his Ph.D. under Gildersleeve. He contributed a brief tribute to his old master.

A happy device to bridge the gap which at one time threatened to divide the linguists and the philologists was a joint session of those two societies on the last afternoon. The linguists had already held a meeting also at Chicago. This had been rendered necessary by the fact that Professor Collitz, the president of the Linguistic Society, was also the head of the Modern Language Association, which was meeting in Chicago. Next year these two organizations will meet with the philologists at Harvard University.

The custom of holding round table sessions was happily continued. One, on "Opportunities for Research in the Greek Field," was under the charge of Professor Babbitt, and Professor Bassett opened the discussion, which was general and stimulating. Professor Lane Cooper was present and contributed markedly to the success of the hour. At the same time the mediaevalists were meeting under the presidency of Professor Beeson. They discussed American coöperation in the dictionary of Mediaeval Latin, the formation of the new society at Cambridge, and its proposed periodical, *Speculum*. In prepared papers, Professor Ogle compared various features of mediaeval style with the theories of the ancient classical stylists, and Professor Lockwood proposed a required general course in mediaeval Latin literature, side by side with a similar course in the classical literature. Professors Harrington, C. U. Clark, and others took part in the discussion.

The annual dinner was held in Prudence Risley Hall, the magnificent dormitory for women. Professor Horace L. Jones, the

head of the efficient local committee, acted as toastmaster. President Livingston Farrand was particularly happy in his welcome of the visiting societies and President Magoffin of the Institute responded impressively. The presidential address by Dean Laing was entitled "Survivals of Roman Religion." His wit made even the dry and familiar details of the *Indigitamenta* live and breathe.

The executive committee has resumed the practice of submitting to the Association its report through the secretary. It showed a membership of over a thousand, an endowment of well over \$12,000, a yearly income of some \$3,800, and administrative expenses of about \$1,300. The treasurer's report revealed a balance of slightly over \$1,600. The matter of the endowment fund gave rise to prolonged debate. Of the desired \$25,000, only about half has been secured. Of the twenty-odd districts into which the field had been divided for the conduct of the campaign, comparatively few had secured their quota; some had fallen far behind their goal. It had seemed necessary to allow the project a prolonged period of quiescence. It was the sense of the meeting that this necessity was now past and that activity should be renewed.

There is an imperative demand for more money to allow of increased facilities for publication. An amendment to the constitution was adopted by which the annual dues were increased to four dollars a year. The additional amount is to be used to defray the expense of issuing monographs, which, because of their length or other reasons, cannot appear in the *Transactions*. A committee to have charge of these additional publications is to be appointed by the chair. The number of the executive committee was increased from ten to twelve. The new president of the Association is Professor Fairclough of Leland Stanford. As both vice-presidents were retained in office, the only change in the executive committee was the addition of Professors Hadzsits and Campbell Bonner and the new secretary and treasurer. It was with great regret that the Association accepted the resignation of Professor Bill, who has so ably filled these important offices for

the past nine years. The very success of the meeting was an eloquent tribute to his tact and forethought, but a special resolution of appreciation was presented to the Association by Professor Bassett and was enthusiastically adopted with continued applause. Professor J. W. Hewitt of Wesleyan was elected secretary and treasurer.

J. W. H.

CERTAIN SIMILARITIES IN THE FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHT OF THE EARLY HEBREWS AND THE HOMERIC GREEKS

By CHARLES N. SMILEY
Grinnell College

The world in which we live at the present moment is in sore need of a serum or antitoxin to combat the ravages of a germ that has already destroyed the freedom of thought in some of our colleges and universities, — the germ of Fundamentalism. It has been almost with a feeling of sacrilege that I have again traversed the pages of Homer in search of such a serum and antitoxin. For I well remember my glad Freshman days thirty years ago, when under the guidance of a skilful teacher, I first entered the miraculous wonder world of Homer. We were not in search of a serum or antitoxin; we were not even seeking to compare the inspiration of the early Greeks with the inspiration of the early Hebrews. We were young, and we were bound on a journey of adventure in a world that was young. In swift-faring ships we "sailed over the broad-back of the unvintaged sea," "the bright salt sea," "the grey sea," "the violet colored sea," "the wine-dark sea," "the loud-sounding sea that roared on the long beach"¹ where Apollo sat with silver bow, firing his arrows into the Greek camp. Whenever we bivouacked about the walls of Troy, "joy" was our watchword and countersign. Our comrades were warriors from Argos, "pasture lands of horses," from Thrace, "mother of sheep," from Achaea, "home of fair women," and from Mycenae, "rich in gold." Whether we waked or slept "fair-tressed Leto," "silver-footed Thetis," and "bright-eyed Athena" watched over us. Everything

¹ When the *Iliad* is quoted, the version of Lang, Leaf, and Myer is used. Citations from the *Odyssey* are in the version of Palmer or Butcher and Lang.

was ambrosial, — the slumber of the night, the locks of Zeus, the raiment of Aphrodite, and even the forage that Ares fed his horses. To be sure occasionally there lurked the ghost of a dead digamma, or an accusative of specification, that threatened to trip us up; but this was more than counterbalanced by the "asbestos laughter of the gods" when some comrade tried to tell us about Thersites "lame as to his other foot" or Helen "more beautiful as to her diaphragm." But now we are no longer young; we are enmeshed in the serious business of life, and are compelled to search for a serum and antitoxin, and even the sacred things of youth must suffer the crucible and test-tube in order that they may yield up a magic potency that will help to heal us of our grievous wound.

In the *Symposium* of Xenophon we read that Niceratus in his youth, was required to commit to memory the whole of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as a part of his education. From other sources we learn that Aristotle prepared a special edition of the Homeric poems for his pupil, Alexander the Great. For at least two hundred years considerable portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were chanted by rhapsodes at Athens as a part of the great Panathenaic festival. But not only in Athens but also in all corners of the Greek world was Homer supreme, dictating the thought and helping to shape the mind and character of the rising generation of Greek youth. This is conclusively proved by the civic editions of Homer which existed in such remote places as Massilia and Sinope. It is the purpose of this paper to inquire in what fundamental respects the ethical and religious concepts of a Greek boy who grew up under the influence of Homer were similar to those of a Hebrew boy who grew up under the authority of the Old Testament.

If it shall appear from this investigation that the religious thought of the early Hebrews was essentially the same as that of the early Greeks, it will then be the duty of Dr. John Scott to defend not only the unity, but also the infallibility of Homer as a rule of life; or else it will be the duty of Mr. Bryan's followers

to deal with the Old Testament in the intelligent way in which Jesus of Nazareth dealt with it.

At the outset we are confronted with a great difficulty, for we are face to face with the fact that the religious and ethical conceptions of the Homeric poems represent in the main one period of Greek thought and are therefore reasonably consistent, while the conceptions of the Old Testament represent many successive periods and record the mental and spiritual progress of the Hebrew race for more than a thousand years, and are therefore more or less inconsistent. When we set about to compare the Zeus of Homer with the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the question naturally arises: Do we mean the Jehovah of the earliest parts of the Old Testament dating back a thousand B. C., or the Jehovah of the eighth-century prophets: Amos, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, or the Jehovah of the book of Job in the fifth century B. C., or the Jehovah of the book of Ecclesiastes dating shortly before the time of Christ?

In general we may say that the conception of Jehovah improved as the character of the Hebrew people improved through the centuries. In the earliest strata of the Old Testament we find the Jehovah who created the serpent that beguiled our first parents into ways of sin, and then repented that he had ever created the human race and sought to destroy it with a flood. It is the Jehovah who hardened Pharaoh's heart, and then punished him with plagues because his heart had been hardened. It is the Jehovah who persuaded David to take a census of the Hebrew people, and then destroyed thousands of the Hebrews because David had committed the sin of taking a census. It is the Jehovah who defeated the good counsel of Ahitophel that he might destroy Absalom. This Jehovah was one among many gods, the jealous tribal war-god of Palestine, whose chief delight was in slaughtering the Amalekites, and his date, or the date of this conception of Jehovah, is about 1000 B. C. If we are seeking to make a fair comparison of the religious thought of the Greeks and Hebrews at 1000 B. C., we shall compare this conception of Jehovah with the Zeus of Homer.

In his physical attributes the Zeus of Homer is very much like the earliest Jehovah. He is the lord of the storm cloud whose joy is in the thunder; he is the cloud-gathering hurler of lightning. As Jehovah was superior in martial prowess to the gods of the Moabites and Jebusites and Amalekites, so Zeus single-handed is superior to all the gods in a tug of war. In his anger he dashes them about his mansion on Olympus, hurls Hephaestus from the battlements of heaven, and even suspends Hera aloft with anvils tied to her feet because she has dared to try to thwart his purpose. It is not strange that Plato in a later age would exclude such a Zeus from the literature of his ideal state. And yet Zeus is not a simon-pure war-god, as was the earliest Jehovah, for there is an incipient spirit of pacifism in his nature. To him Ares is a renegade, a curse incarnate, most hateful to him of all the gods that dwell upon Olympus, for he ever loves war and strife and battles.

In his mental attributes Zeus is also like Jehovah. He is lord of counsel, a hater of injustice; his will is irrevocable and his purposes though long deferred at last reach their fulfillment. He "distributes fortunes to mankind and gives to high and low even as he wills to each." In a similar way Jehovah "maketh poor, and maketh rich; he bringeth low and lifteth up. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory."

Even the wrath of Achilles with all the woe that it entailed finds its explanation in the will of Zeus, for we read in the opening lines of the *Iliad* that the "counsel of Zeus wrought out its accomplishment from the day when first strife parted Atreides, king of men, and noble Achilles." Like Jehovah he appears as the creator of evil as well as of good. Back of the will of Zeus lay dark fate that he could not change, even though he knew its course from the beginning even to the end. While destiny lay in the lap of the gods, they could not alter it even to save the life of one they loved. The thread of life was spun for each mortal man on his day of birth. While man appeared at times to have some choices, it often was a choice between two evils. The dice were clogged

with which he played the game of life. — In the book of Exodus we hear Jehovah saying to the Israelites, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy." It is not, however, until we come to Isaiah and Job that we find the statement in Hebrew literature that a man's destiny has been fully determined, before he has been born.

And yet within this iron framework of fate the Homeric gods seem to bestow their gifts with a certain freedom. All human excellence is attributed to the immediate gift of some god, whether the gift be strength of body or grace of form, whether it be courage and nobility of mind with power of judgment and understanding, or whether it be skill in the crafts, all these alike were the immediate gift of some god. Here again the attitude of mind of the early Hebrew was similar to that of the Homeric Greek. The strength of Samson and the wisdom of Solomon were both the gifts of Jehovah. As Athena taught the clever ship-wright and silversmiths their craft, even so Jehovah "filled Bezazel, the builder of the tabernacle, with the spirit of God, in wisdom and in understanding and in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship, to devise skilful works, to work in gold and in silver and in brass and in cutting of stone for setting, and in carving of wood, to work in all manner of workmanship;" and likewise Jehovah revealed unto Moses the pattern of the candlestick that was to stand in the tabernacle; and to David he furnished the pattern for Solomon's temple, with explicit directions as to the method in which the plans were to be carried through.²

But in spite of these many divine gifts both the early Hebrew and the early Greek regarded life on the whole as a somewhat questionable gift. To the early Hebrew it was "water spilt upon the ground," "a fading flower," "a leaf driven by the wind," "a

² It is far from the purpose of the author of this paper to deny that the gifts of the artist, the law-maker, and the scientist are divine gifts, or yet to deny that Phidias, Moses, and Isaac Newton were inspired. But inspiration is progressive, and both individuals and races are daily being born again to newer and truer views and vision. Jesus has lifted to a higher level the Mosaic law, Einstein has modified certain views held by Newton, and a greater artist than Phidias may yet arise.

shadow." At the close of a long life Jacob who had enjoyed the intimate guidance of Jehovah, declares: "Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been," while David, the anointed of Jehovah, the man after God's own heart, summarizes human life by saying, "Our days upon the earth are but a shadow." In the dark days of the Babylonian exile some unknown psalmist writes: "Thou turnest man to destruction, and sayest, Return ye children of men. Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as a sleep in the morning; they are like grass which groweth up; in the evening it is cut down and withereth. All our days are passed away in thy wrath; we spend our years as a tale that is told. The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off and we fly away."

With this compare the lament of Achilles in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*: "This is the lot the gods have spun for miserable men, that they should live in pain, yet themselves are sorrowless. For two urns stand upon the floor of Zeus filled with his evil gifts, and one with blessings." Even Zeus himself contemplating the lot of ill-fated men is filled with compassion, for he says: "Methinks there is nothing more piteous than a man among all things that breathe and creep upon the earth."

Hedged in by fate that is well-nigh inscrutable, the men of ✓ Israel and the men of the Homeric world are equally eager to find out the will of God. The methods that they employ are strikingly similar. In the Hebrew world there are prophets inspired by Jehovah, there is the interpretation of signs, the interpretation of dreams, the calling up of the spirits of the dead. Samuel with his prophetic gift, Gideon and his fleece, Joseph the interpreter of dreams, the witch of Endor who could call up the spirit of the departed, range before us as illustrating the various ways in which the Hebrews were informed concerning the will of Jehovah. They all have their counterparts in the pages of Homer. Chalcas is a prophet who knows "things present, things past and things to come." The priestess at Delphi predicts to Agamemnon, even before he sets sail for Troy, certain events that shall occur during

the siege of that city. In the *Iliad* the flight of an eagle, or a bolt of lightning, is a common sign that Zeus has heard and will answer the prayer of the Greeks. At the opening of the second book of the *Iliad*, Zeus sends a false dream to Agamemnon to deceive him, just as Jehovah sent a lying spirit to entice Ahab to his doom. Odysseus makes a journey to the lower world that he may learn his destiny from the spirit of Teiresias the seer.

In the early Greek world in which even the gods were subservient to fate, and in the early Hebrew world in which a man's life was charted even before he was born, there would seem to be as little room for prayer, as in the modern mechanistic world of the materialist. And yet both the early Hebrew and the early Greek sought to change the divine purpose and bend the divine will by intercession. Hezekiah's life is lengthened fifteen years in answer to prayer. Apollo brings pestilence upon the Greek camp in answer to the petition of his priest. Teucer fails to win the prize in archery because he has failed to pray to Athena. Odysseus wins the prize in the foot race because he has first invoked the aid of Athena. When Noah built an altar to Jehovah and offered burnt offerings, Jehovah smelled the sweet savor and said in his heart, "I will not any more curse the ground for man's sake." With this compare the words of Phoenix in the ninth book of the *Iliad*: "The hearts of the gods by incense and reverent vows and drink offerings men turn with prayer, so oft as any transgresseth and doeth sin." Any Hebrew or Greek who had offered a goodly sacrifice had a reasonable expectation that his prayer would be heard. It was *aliquid pro aliquo*. I have done something for you, now you must do something for me. Penitence and obedience counted, but it was the sacrifice that bulked the largest. The following prayer of Apollo's priest at the opening of the *Iliad* is typical: "Hear me, god of the silver bow, that standest over Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos with might, O Smintheus! If ever I built a temple gracious in thine eyes, or if ever I burnt to thee fat flesh of thighs of bulls or goats, fulfill thou this my desire; let the Danaans by thine arrows pay for my tears."

It is not until the eighth century B. C. that we meet in Hebrew

literature the doctrine that obedience and justice count more than sacrifice. In the first chapter of Isaiah the prophet speaking for Jehovah says: "What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs or of he-goats. Bring no more vain oblations unto me. I am weary of bearing them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea when ye make many prayers I will not hear; your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doing from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

And yet eight hundred years after the death of Isaiah the Hebrew world was still seeking to set itself right with Jehovah by the sacrifice of animals. The Apostle Paul, when he would interpret the death of Christ upon the cross, is still thinking of the Jehovah of the Pentateuch who could be propitiated only by the sacrifice of blood. A very similar thing happened in the Greek world. At the beginning of the fifth century B. C., Heracleitus protested that a man could not purify himself by defiling himself with blood. And yet for centuries after the death of Heracleitus, altars in front of Greek temples still smoked with burning flesh. It is not strange that the primitive man sought to gain the favor of his deity by attempting to share with him the finest of his flocks and herds, or even by offering the blood of his first-born. Jephthah sacrificed his daughter to Jehovah, and Abraham was ready to sacrifice his only son. There are numerous passages in the early Old Testament which indicate that the Hebrews, infected by the example of their Canaanitish neighbors, sought divine favor through human sacrifices in spite of the protest of the prophets. There is only one trace of this in the Homeric poems. At the end of the *Iliad* Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan captives at the funeral pyre of his friend, Patroclus.

In both the Old Testament and the Homeric poems there is equal certitude that sin will be punished. At the opening of the *Iliad* hundreds die of pestilence in the Greek camp because Aga-

'memnon has dishonored the priest of Apollo. In the book of Numbers we read that fourteen thousand seven hundred Hebrews died of pestilence because they murmured against Moses. Again we read in Numbers that twenty-four thousand died of plague because they had taken up Moabitish religious customs. Seventy thousand perish by pestilence because David had taken a census of the people, — and the pestilence was checked only when David built an altar and made an appropriate offering to Jehovah. Ten times does Jeremiah threaten the Israelites with sword, famine, and pestilence unless they are obedient to Jehovah. Similar threats occur in many of the other prophets. In the Greek world it was not until the fifth century B. C. that Hippocrates declared that diseases come from natural rather than supernatural causes.

At the beginning of the *Odyssey* we read: "How vainly mortal men do blame the gods! For of us they say comes evil, whereas they even of themselves, through the blindness of their own hearts, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained." In the first two pages of the *Odyssey* this doctrine that suffering is the result of sin, receives a threefold iteration. The companions of Odysseus are cut off from a safe return home because they have slain the sacred cattle of the Sun. Aegisthus loses his life because contrary to the warning of Hermes he has slain Agamemnon. Even Odysseus who "is beyond all mortal men in wisdom, beyond them too in giving honor to the immortal gods," suffers many hardships and is kept from home for many years because he has sinned against Poseidon. It would be easy to cite a hundred illustrations of this doctrine from the Old Testament, although now and then the psalmist finds occasion to lament the prosperity of the wicked.

In the Old Testament there is no hint that the punishment of the wicked continues after death. Only once is such punishment hinted at in the *Iliad*. In the *Odyssey* Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos are described as still paying the penalty for sins that they committed while in the flesh. The Hebrew *Sheol* is a place of colorless existence where "there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom," a place of neither social nor moral distinctions.

Such a condition did Odysseus find in Hades' house, when he went to consult the spirit of Teiresias. There Achilles tells him that he would rather be the slave of a poor man in the upperworld than king of all the dead. In all of Homer there is one suggestion of a blessed future life which may be attained by men like Menelaos who is the son of Zeus. "But thou Menelaos, son of Zeus, art not ordained to die and meet thy fate in Argos, pastureland of horses, but the deathless gods will convey thee to the Elysian plain and the world's end, where is Rhadamanthos of the fair hair, where life is easiest for men. No snow is there, nor yet great storm, nor any rain; but always ocean sendeth forth the breeze of the shrill West to blow cool on men: yea for thou hast Helen as thy wife, and thereby they deem thee to be the son of Zeus."

The Hebrew belief in a blessed future life did not take form until more than a century after Alexander the Great had incorporated Palestine in his empire. In 168 B. C. when the author of the book of Daniel was writing about a blessed future life, the Greek language and literature were familiar even to the high priests in Jerusalem. The old Sadducean view that after death there is a colorless nothingness still held its own in Hebrew minds for a century after the book of Daniel had been written, a fact that is evidenced by the book of Ecclesiastes.

✓ The miraculous plays an important part in both the Old Testament and the Homeric poems. The contravention of nature's law however assumes a certain grandeur and a certain spectacular quality in Hebrew literature that is not found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The dead are raised up, cities are destroyed with fire and brimstone, the walls of Jericho tumble down to the reverberation of the blasts of trumpets, an army falls asleep at evening and does not awake at dawn, the shadow moves back upon the dial, the sun and moon stand still over the valley of Ajalon at the command of Joshua. There is nothing like this in Homer. There is also a somewhat greater variety of miracles in the Old Testament than we find in Homer. Aaron's rod buds and blooms, iron swims, and Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt. Such miracles have no counterpart in the Homeric writings. Perhaps the nearest ap-

proach to anything of this sort is found in the fact that Xanthos, the divine horse of Achilles, is in no respect inferior to the ass of Balaam in the power of prophetic speech. There is another form of miracle however that is equally common to early Greek and early Hebrew literature. Jehovah visits Abraham as he sits in the door of his tent at Mamre; Jacob wrestles with an angel till the breaking of the dawn; the eyes of the servant of Elisha are opened that he may see the hosts of Jehovah encamped about him. In like manner on numerous occasions, the Homeric gods in human guise converse with mortals and endow them with grace of form, strength of limb, courage of heart, and unwonted wisdom.

It is perhaps true that the early Hebrew had a somewhat deeper spirit of reverence. It is certainly true that the early Greek had a keener appreciation of the miracle of mind and of all the miraculous processes of nature. Whenever he beheld the sun rising or the earth producing its fruits, or some river hastening to the sea, it was a miracle, behind which lay some divine power. How often Homer speaks of the divine earth, the divine sea, the divine sun, the divine breaking of the dawn. It would be no small gain to our modern world if we could regain something of the early Hebrew's spirit of reverence and of the early Greek's keen appreciation of the miraculous in the ordinary processes of nature.

Perhaps if we were alert to see the thousand marvelous things that happen before our eyes in harmony with nature's law, we would not be so hungry for miracles in contravention of nature's law.

There is little danger that anyone will be corrupted by the theology of Homer. We toss it overboard as so much pagan mythology. We read it as Jesus read the Old Testament, holding fast to that which is ultimate in human experience, and discarding that which ought to be discarded. Jesus went back to the Book of Leviticus and extracted the pure gold: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul and all thy heart and all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." But when he

had extracted this nugget of pure gold, that did not prevent him from repudiating those parts of the book of Leviticus which ought to be repudiated, as for instance the *lex talionis*, the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." In the Sermon on the Mount he says, "Ye have heard them of old time say, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you: Love your enemies." It would be clear gain if certain of our Fundamentalist brethren could learn to follow Jesus and deal with the book of Leviticus in a similar way.

OUR INTANGIBLE ASSETS

By SARAH DICKSON
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The chairman issued his ukase that on this program no paper should discuss the classical survey or exceed twenty minutes in length. Like King Charles' head, the survey seems to obtrude itself into every paper read at classical gatherings. In fact for several years now, with Mr. Dick, we have been quite unable to keep it out of them. Of talk of objectives and content and tests there is no end. We have had a great deal, too, of standardization and statistics. All this gives me the same uneasy feeling that I had the other day when a very serious club-woman fixed me with her glittering eye and proclaimed in a rather threatening manner, "Every meeting that I attend must be either informational or inspirational." I for one, to alter somewhat Miss Riderhood's famous remark, do not wish this meeting to regard itself nor yet to be regarded in that bony light.

With the survey I will take the same course as a college friend of mine did with her Bible examination, a subject in which she had acquired only what Dr. Crothers calls "the honorable points of ignorance." Warned by a friend who had been that way before, she prepared by conning over the names of the Hebrew monarchs in their order, until letter-perfect. Instead of the old chronological standby, however, she was confronted by an entirely new question on Daniel. With the intrepidity of an Alexander she wrote, "I know nothing about Daniel, but as to the Kings of Israel they are as follows." The stipulation about length is unnecessary for me because I am a devout believer in Terminus, the god of metes and bounds, and can truly say that my terminal facilities are excellent. We have it on the best authority that

brevity is the soul of wit. With me it is the very essence of discretion.

We have heard a great deal of late years about the place of Latin in the curriculum. Much has been written about its practical value as an aid, for instance, to English. The aims and objectives of the course have been stressed, particularly in the high school. Lovers of the classics have drawn upon stores of undoubted eloquence to prove that Latin is of practical benefit and bread-and-butter utility. Students in schools of a rather technical tendency have, with almost tearful emphasis, been invited to consider the utilitarian claims of the classics in distinction to such a subject as automobile-mechanics. Oceans of data and statistics have been collected by people who have a taste for that sort of thing to prove that no pharmacist should be permitted to dispense medicine who has not read Caesar, and this in the face of the undoubted truth that pharmacists now spend most of their time dispensing kodaks and thermos bottles. Some have even told confiding freshmen that every lawyer of eminence must *ipso facto* be a mine of classic erudition, when the most cursory observation immediately proves this statement to be a fallacy.

Along with the insistence that Latin is a tangible asset in the practical equipment of every rising young business man or woman, there has been in the high schools a very real and sustained effort to popularize it, to make it a course that is sought after, a department that is humming with bustling activity. Pursuant to this idea we make fearful and wonderful charts exhibiting the derivatives from the verb *duco*, we play card games to illustrate the constructions with *ab* and *in*, and we drape the shrinking forms of our pupils with togas, fastened sometimes insecurely with safety pins. While this is going on, the great proconsul, unnoticed, waits in the wings for his cue, and his campaign against the Morini must proceed without our help. Thus are the humanities advanced. Thus do we serve the classics that we love.

Have we not perhaps grown tired of these husks, and shall we not, we also, arise and go back to the fountain-head, the Latin

writers themselves? As the delightful old Englishman said, Latin is a good thing, at least to have forgotten. Just why is it good in itself then, if we agree that a working model of a ballista or of Caesar's bridge is not an essential or even an important part of classical training? What are the intangible assets in this heritage left to us by the centuries? When we determine the selling price of a business we rate the good-will, which we can not measure or weigh or put in a shop-window, at a good round figure. This is an intangible asset of the business. I contend that in the classics the intangible assets are worth very much more than all the measured results in terms of transfer value, or increased command of language, or mental discipline, or what-not. And we believed in them, too, — these intangible values, until Dr. Flexner and other so-called progressives in education frightened us with mouthings about the Modern School. Ever since then we teachers of Latin have been suffering with a case of nerves. Why should Dr. Flexner rob us of our Crock of Gold which it has taken us thousands of years to amass, little by little? Every poet from Chaucer to Edna St. Vincent Millay has added a little bit of gold in the shape of his new point of view to the classic myths and stories. And all in the great tradition, for before Chaucer there was Homer, and before Miss Millay there were Sappho and Catullus.

Dr. Flexner says, in effect, to the pupils of his modern school that literature is a finished product to be consumed in judicious portions like breakfast food — they may have the Crock of Gold in a lump sum, so to speak, without working for it. One might as well exhibit a battleship to a boy and tell him it was the spontaneous outcome of a few hours' concentration by some clever young mechanic trained in modern efficiency methods. To put it a little differently, Dr. Flexner seems to confuse the education for living with the training for gaining a livelihood and is, as G. Stanley Hall says, "exalting technology above humanism."

Would it not perhaps be a good thing to have the courage to say to the practical-minded young person who enquires about courses, "Yes, Caesar is a difficult writer, and I should not advise

you to sandwich him between your sheet-metal and your dramatic art periods." Or why not reply to the bewildered and critical barbarian, who, when confronted with the large number of the, to him, meaningless fables of Greek and Roman Literature, asks, or would if he were sufficiently articulate, "What's Hecuba to me or me to Hecuba?" — "Why, very little." Such replies would at least clear the skirts of the classical teacher of the charge of deceiving the pupil by pretending that he sells nothing but taffy in his booth at the big Educational Bazaar. In these days of the compulsory education of the full-grown moron all is not grist that comes to our intellectual mills.

It may be enquired, then, what is to be the aim or objective of the Latin or Greek course in the high school. I leave to the college instructor his own *apologia pro vita sua*. If one objects to the current fads such as so-called commercial or predigested courses in Latin, and considers *too* much socialization of recitations and pupil initiative, etc. as a following after false gods, and feels that too many standardized tests will perhaps dehumanize the humanities, how will one justify the continued presence of the classical studies in an age that must be up and doing? Today if we are not modern we are nothing.

W. H. Hudson has said, "The love of beauty is God's best gift to man." This dictum from one of the most exquisite of modern writers may perhaps provoke denials from those who believe that moral superiority, or the power successfully and painfully to meddle with our neighbor's business are more valuable acquisitions. For purposes of this discussion we will not agree with these modern puritans, but adopt rather the point of view of the immortal lady who said, "There is something in being well dressed that the consciousness of righteousness cannot give." You see, she preferred to be easy to look at, rather than hard to listen to. If then, we believe that Beauty has a place in modern education as well as in ancient Athens, we must realize also that, in the welter of activities that make up the modern high school, the love of beauty for its own sake has been left very largely to the teachers

of the classics. To our trembling and uncertain hands has been committed the keeping of the flame.

There are to be sure the art and English departments where the love of beauty might perhaps be cultivated. So it might, if the art classes could find the time after painting the scenery for the musical comedy, or designing and dyeing the costumes for the pageant. With one of the world's richest literatures at his command, the English teacher must devote most of his time to the comma-blunder and Burke. And the trail of the serpent, commercialism, is over them still. For behold, the ability to write and punctuate a business letter is more important than an intelligent appreciation of Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn." The voice of the business man is all-powerful, and his slogan is, "Make it snappy." No one, however, has as yet arisen to suggest that we exclude Keats from the reading list. The teacher of Latin and Greek is not hedged about with such restrictions. Freed from the necessity of pursuing the practical, he has the inestimable privilege and opportunity of interpreting the beautiful. This I believe to be the true aim and triumphant vindication of the classics in the modern curriculum.

Would not this cherishing care of beauty be the most effective argument for Latin and Greek — much better even than the old plea of disciplinary value, or the proposition I have seen advanced lately that they prepare for leadership? It is immeasurably more dignified than the usual bromidic claims of their philological or grammatical value in the study of English, to say that the classics give us, along with wisdom, beauty, which is equally above rubies. This intangible value is our strongest asset. Mr. Richard Burton of Minnesota expressed their effect upon the spirit very trenchantly in a recent article in the *American Mercury*, when he told of a pupil who asked him, "What good will the study of Browning's poetry do me?" He replied, "It will give you a state of mind which you will find the full equivalent of a Rolls-Royce car. Thus it will save you several thousand dollars." The author mentioned might as well have been Vergil or Horace. One who

has experienced and made his own the curious felicity of Horace or the mournful charm of the great Mantuan is armed somewhat against the slings and arrows of a not necessarily outrageous fortune.

These studies give something to the mind and heart, a certain urbanity, a certain clarity, a certain serenity that cannot be measured by standardized tests, or included in statistics. Modern science is all very well, but it cannot keep us from fearing the dark. It has discovered a number of new ways of killing people, but it has not taught us how to die, nor does it help us to go on living. It is the poets and philosophers who save our souls and give us the courage to live.

James Stephens says, "How should we front the demons and monsters of this world if our puny arms were not backed up by our invincible eyes." We who are puny need the mighty voices of the past. They are needed in education, — those invincible ones. I am here saying poorly what others have said greatly. Emerson wrote of Plutarch, "We need books of this tart cathartic virtue, more than books of political science or of private economy."

Perhaps the most outstanding modern characteristic is bump-tiousness. We think very well of ourselves, especially the younger ones of us who are going to high school and college. We are rather inclined to feel that we have discovered a number of new things. Our despairs are the darkest, our sins the blackest, and our fervors the hottest of any generation. Not so the student who reads his Catullus and hears "the nightingale sing on as if in pain." He feels that the modern songsters sound rather sophomoric, their daring ardors a bit warmed-over and crude, as he compares them to the fiery passion of that nightingale who, like his prototype in nature, pressed his breast against the thorn, and in his agony sang with more piercing sweetness.

Flouting the older generation and flying in the face of convention do not seem such original and remarkable feats when the emancipated modern young person reads the lines by Rome's most authentic lyric poet beginning,

Vivamus mea Lesbia atque amemus
Rumoresque senum severiorum
Omnes unius aestimemus assis.

Indubitably the *jeunesse dorée* of 60 B. C. could give points on the purple passion even to the advanced youth of 1925, and had an even more perfect technique in shocking Mrs. Grundy.

No one could read Ovid or Horace with liking and understanding and remain a bigot. Horace's breadth of view and toleration of human weakness and frailty are apparent in almost all his work. Perhaps this tolerance is needed more today than any of the other gifts the classics can offer to the modern reader. The most beloved of Latin poets exposed the shams of society, but he never headed any movements for the reform of human nature. He realized that new reforms would follow the old into limbo, and that at the end, saint and sinner alike

Pulvis et umbra sumus.

Having listened to many from others, I have no "devices" to suggest, no statistical studies to present, and no methods to sum up for the teaching of Latin. The greatest value of the classics is intangible. The beauty they represent, the tolerance and wisdom they teach, make the so-called dead languages the liveliest studies in the curriculum. This in spite of the fact that we cannot standardize beauty or make a blue-print of wisdom.

Enthusiasm for the subject seems the best method. Truly "Many are the wand-bearers, but few are the true bacchanals." Mere lip-service to the classic author is not enough. We must love and understand him. Academic interest will not help us to hear Vergil's "brown bees hum deathlessly." And if we do not hear them, if we drudge mechanically, though faithfully, we and our classes with us are punished by deadly apathy and dusty dryness, for the gods are jealous. Even they who cover assignments and do creditably in examinations have not the root of the matter.

"They show the vine-leaf chaplet,
The ivy-wreathen spear,
But the God, the true Iacchus,
He does not hold them dear."

THE CLASSICAL CULTURE OF PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

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To read the letters of Shelley¹ is to trace an amazing increase in the influence of the literatures of Greece and Rome on his character and writings. This increase can best be shown by quoting excerpts from two letters: the first, written in 1812, when, to be sure, Shelley had read his Greek and Latin authors, but with much of the disinterestedness of the immature school-boy; and the second, written in 1821, after the literature of Greece had made a complete conquest of his soul. The first is written to William Godwin, who had so great an influence on the development of Shelley's mind; and is apropos of Godwin's plea for the classics, in a letter which he had latterly written to Shelley. "I am not sufficiently vain and dogmatical to say that *now* I have *no* doubts on the deleteriousness of classical education; but it certainly is my opinion — nor has your last letter sufficed to refute it — that the evils of acquiring Greek and Latin considerably overbalance the benefit."² In the second letter, written from Pisa, in 1821, to John Gisborne, he says:³ "I read the Greek dramatists and Plato for ever." And Shelley believed that the spirit of classical literature could be obtained only in the original. In a note of Mrs. Shelley, accompanying a letter which Shelley had written to an unnamed woman, and which Mrs. Shelley had published in turn as a note to the published letter⁴

¹ *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, edited by Roger Ingpen, London, 1909.

² *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 345.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 921.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 747.

of Shelley, addressed to John Gisborne in November, 1819, Mrs. Shelley writes: "I subjoin here a fragment of a letter, I know not to whom addressed; it is to a woman — which shows how, worshipping as Shelley did the spirit of the literature of ancient Greece, he considered that this could be found only in its original language, and did not consider that time wasted which a person who had pretensions, intellectual culture, and enthusiasm, spent in acquiring them."⁵ In the letter, *To a Lady*, to which the lines quoted was Mrs. Shelley's note, Shelley writes:⁶ "What is a translation of Homer into English? A person who is ignorant of Greek need only look at 'Paradise Lost,' or the tragedy of 'Lear' translated into French, to obtain an analogical conception of its worthless and miserable inadequacy. Tacitus, or Livius, or Herodotus, are equally undelightful and uninstructional in translation."

Of his ability, as a youth, to read Greek and Latin we have sure evidence. He was wont to declaim to his father in Latin;⁷ he showed proficiency in composing Latin verse.⁸ One of the best-known stories of Shelley's Eton days is told by Captain Gronow.⁹ It is about a fight between Shelley and the youthful Sir Thomas Styles. Shelley, in the beginning of the fight, comported himself in true hero fashion and "knocked the little baronet off his legs. . . . Shelley's confidence increased; he stalked round the ring as before, and spouted one of the defiant addresses usual with Homer's heroes when about to commence a single combat; the young poet, being a first-rate classical scholar, actually delivered the speech in the original Greek, to the no small amusement of the boys." Unfortunately, as Gribble shows, "it is obviously untrue,"¹⁰ and he gives cogent reasons for its mythical character. However, the story could not have arisen had Shelley not been known as a good Greek student. In a

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 870, note.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 871.

⁷ *Cambridge Edition of Shelley's works*, p. xv.

⁸ *The Romantic Life of Shelley*, Francis Gribble, p. 40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

letter addressed to J. J. Stockdale, dated 1810, wherein he requests Stockdale to send him a copy of an essay, written by a Hebrew, to demonstrate the falsity of the Christian religion, he says:¹¹ "If it is translated in Greek, Latin, or any of the European languages, I would thank you to send it me." Many of the letters of 1811 and 1812 contain Latin phrases, references to mythological characters, to Homer, Epicurus, Vergil, Cicero, Socrates; but it was not until late in 1812, that Shelley embraced the study of Greek and Latin systematically and with unextinguishable zest. In a letter to Clio Rickman, December, 1812, he gives a list of books he wants Rickman to secure for him:¹² "Original and translation, if possible, united — Aeschylus, Epicurus, Celsus, Ptolemaeus, Confucius (a translation only), Euripides, Polybius, Tacitus, Procopius, Hippocrates, Diodorus Siculus, Lucius Florus, Justin of Samaria (the original only), Pythagoras, Theophrastus, Titus Livius, Josephus, Sappho." An ambitious list for his year's study.

Greek soon became the ruling passion with Shelley. In Mary Shelley's list of books read by Shelley in 1815¹³ appear the names: Hesiod, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer. Writing to John Gisborne, from Florence, in 1819, he says:¹⁴ "I envy you the first reading of 'Theocritus.' Were not the Greeks a glorious people? What is there, as Jacob says of the Leviathan, like unto them?" I know nothing more affecting in the story of English men of letters, than the description of Shelley's ill-starred attempt to return in his little craft from welcoming Leigh Hunt at Leghorn. The account of the finding of his body is given by Trelawny:¹⁵ "The tall, slight figure, the jacket, the volume of Aeschylus in one pocket, and Keats' poems in the other, doubled back as if the reader, in the act of reading, had hastily thrust it away." Leigh Hunt, in his autobiography, gives this impression of Shelley: ". . . a youth not come

¹¹ *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 13.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 372.

¹³ *The Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, Vol. 1, p. 123.

¹⁴ *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 747.

¹⁵ *Records of Shelley, Byron, and the Author*, Trelawny, Vol. 1, pp. 189-190.

to his full growth; very gentlemanly, earnestly gazing at every object that interested him, and quoting the Greek dramatists."¹⁶ Again, Hunt writes:¹⁷ "His book was generally Plato, or Homer, or one of the Greek tragedians, or the Bible, in which he took a great, though peculiar, and often admiring interest."

The tragic writers of Greece held the highest place in Shelley's affections, and had the greatest influence on his poetry. In a letter addressed to Hogg, from Milan, in 1818, he writes:¹⁸ "I have read some Greek but not much on my journey — two or three plays of Euripides — and among them the 'Ion,' which you praised and which (I think) is exquisitely beautiful." In a letter from Livorno the following year, he writes to Hogg:¹⁹ "I have of late read little Greek. I have read Homer again and some plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and some lives of Plutarch this spring — that is all." One of the three great enterprises of the early months of 1818 in Italy was his *Prometheus Unbound*. Mrs. Shelley writes²⁰ in this year: "The Greek tragedians were now his most familiar companions in his wanderings, and the sublime majesty of Aeschylus filled him with wonder and delight." Dowden tells us²¹ that in this year Shelley "read with eager delight the Greek tragedians, the 'Hippolytus' of Euripides being succeeded by the 'Philoctetes,' the 'Electra,' and the 'Ajax' of Sophocles." In Mary's journal appear the following names, as forming part of his reading at this time:²² "The 'Persae' of Aeschylus, the 'Clouds,' the 'Plutus,' and the 'Lysistrata' of Aristophanes, Theocritus, Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' Herodotus, Lucian, Virgil's 'Georgics,' Horace." In 1821 Shelley writes to Gisborne as follows:²³ "I am just finishing a dramatic poem, called 'Hellas,' upon the contest now raging in

¹⁶ *The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt*, Vol. 2, p. 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 30.

¹⁸ *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 599-600.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 702.

²⁰ *Life*, Dowden, Vol. 2, p. 239.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 210.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 215.

²³ *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 920.

Greece — a sort of imitation of the 'Persae' of Aeschylus, full of lyric poetry." It is in the preface to this poem that he pays his *devoirs* to Greece. "We are all Greeks," he writes.²⁴ "Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their root in Greece." In Mary Shelley's journal for January, 1820, appear such notices as these:²⁵ "Shelley reads the Bible, Sophocles, and the gospel of St. Matthew to me." "Shelley reads 'The Tempest' aloud, and the Bible and Sophocles to himself."

In 1818, while at Bagni di Lucca, Shelley was busy making a translation of Plato's *Symposium*. He writes to T. L. Peacock as follows:²⁶

I have lately found myself totally incapable of original composition. I employed my mornings, therefore, in translating the "Symposium," which I accomplished in ten days. Mary is now transcribing it, and I am writing a prefatory essay. I have been reading scarcely anything but Greek, and a little Italian poetry with Mary.

Writing to Godwin in the same year, he says:²⁷

The "Symposium" of Plato, seems to me one of the most valuable pieces of all antiquity; whether we consider the intrinsic merit of the composition, or the light which it throws on the inmost state of manners and opinions among the ancient Greeks.

We have another record of his interest in this dialogue of Plato, in a letter addressed to John and Mary Gisborne in 1818:²⁸

I am employed just now, having little better to do, in translating into my faint and inefficient periods the divine eloquence of Plato's *Symposium*; only as an exercise, or, perhaps, to give Mary some idea of the manners and feelings of the Athenians — so different on many subjects from that of any other community that ever existed.

Mrs. Shelley, in her journal for July 17, 1818, notes:²⁹ "Shelley finishes the translation of the 'Symposium' and reads Herodotus."

²⁴ *Cambridge Edition* of Shelley's works, p. 319.

²⁵ *Life*, Dowden, Vol. 2, pp. 311-312.

²⁶ *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 606.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 609.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 603.

²⁹ *Life*, Dowden, Vol. 2, p. 218.

From the *Symposium* Shelley turned to the *Phaedrus* without, however, essaying a written translation. Dowden writes:³⁰ "The translation of the 'Banquet,' not always exact in scholarship, has much of the vivid life, the grace of movement, and the luminous beauty of Plato."

In April, 1819, in the *Quarterly Review*, appeared a scathing criticism of Shelley's *The Revolt of Islam*, and incidentally bitter aspersions on Shelley's character, which forced from Leigh Hunt a defense of his friend in the *Examiner*. Dowden writes about this defense:³¹ "He <Hunt> had resided for nearly three months in the same house with Mr. Shelley, and how was this 'shamefully dissolute' poet living all that time? 'As much like Plato himself as any of his theories resemble Plato — or rather still more like a Pythagorean.'"

As early as 1813, Shelley was reading Homer.³² In 1820 he writes to John Gisborne from Pisa:³³

I send you the "Phaedon" and Tacitus. I congratulate you on your conquest of the "Iliad." You must have been astonished at the perpetually increasing magnificence of the last seven books. Homer there truly begins to be himself. The battle of the Scamander, the funeral of Patroclus, and the high and solemn close of the whole bloody tale in tenderness and inexpressible sorrow, are wrought in a manner incomparable with anything of the same kind. The "Odyssey," is sweet, but there is nothing like this.

In Shelley's notes on verses 4-6 of v, *Queen Mab*,

Even as the leaves
Which the keen frost-wind of the waning year
Has scattered on the forest soil,

he gives the *Iliad* Z, 146 as his source.³⁴

In January, 1818, in spite of recent illness, Shelley "busied himself with a translation of the Hymns of Homer, to which at

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 219.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 301.

³² *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 415.

³³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 833.

³⁴ *Cambridge Edition* of Shelley's works, p. 596.

a later date he returned; he was eager to examine Chapman's rendering of the same pieces."³⁵

Shelley's predilection for the Greek writers did not shadow his interest in Latin authors. Among his earlier letters, is one addressed to Hogg, in 1813, in which he writes:³⁶ "I have for some time given myself to study. I have read 'Tacitus,' many of Cicero's philosophical works (who is, in my estimation, one of the most admirable characters the world ever produced)." In Mary's and Shelley's journal³⁷ for August 24, 1814, we read this entry: "Mary and Shelley walk to the shore of the lake (Geneva) and read the description of the Siege of Jerusalem in Tacitus." Again, for October 14, 1814:³⁸ "In the evening read Cicero and the *Paradoxa*." And for February 24, 1815:³⁹ "Shelley finishes second volume of Livy, p. 657." On May 5-10, Shelley was reading Seneca.⁴⁰ In Mary Shelley's list of books read during 1815, we see the names,⁴¹ Livy, Seneca, Virgil, Sallust. In July, 1816, Shelley was reading Lucretius and Pliny the Younger, and in August, Tacitus.⁴² In 1815 he writes to Hogg as follows:⁴³

I have read some of the orations of Cicero. That against Verres contains some passages of wonderful power, although on the whole I consider them inferior in the interest they produced to those of his metaphysical essays which I have read. This must surely spring from their intrinsic inferiority, for it is unusual that an address to the passions should awaken less interest than an appeal to reason. I have begun also the "Pharsalia." My opinion on the relative merits of Lucan and Virgil is no less unpopular than some of the others I entertain.

We find Shelley later reading Vergil again and again, with no

³⁵ *Life*, Dowden, Vol. 2, p. 179.

³⁶ *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 415.

³⁷ *The Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, Vol. 1, p. 77.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 93-94.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 108.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 113.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 123-124.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 146-147.

⁴³ *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 444.

further mention of the *Pharsalia*, so we may suppose that he mended his opinion of Vergil. In a letter to Hogg in the same year he writes:⁴⁴

I have been engaged lately in the commencement of several literary plans, which, if my present temper of mind endures, I shall probably complete in the winter. I have consequently deserted Cicero, or proceeded but slowly with his philosophical dialogues. I have read the Oration for the poet Archias, and am only disappointed with its brevity. . . . I have also read the four finest books of Lucan's "Pharsalia" — a poem, as it appears to me, of wonderful genius and transcending "Virgil."

It is noteworthy that Shelley and Mary played at consulting Vergil as an oracle in the manner of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ Writing in 1816 to T. L. Peacock about the topography of the sixth book of Vergil, Shelley tells of his visit to "the spot on which Virgil places the scenery of the Sixth Aeneid. Though extremely beautiful, as a lake, and woody hills, and this divine sky must make it, I confess my disappointment."⁴⁶

Lucretius, even in the days when Shelley was sceptical about studying the ancient classics, was a single exception to his belief that the classic writers were "fit for nothing but the perpetuation of the noxious race of heroes in the world."⁴⁷ Lucretius' great poem was the wellspring of *Queen Mab*, as Shelley shows us in the notes to this poem. "The motive of the poem, as is shown by the motto prefixed,⁴⁸ is Lucretian; Shelley imagined that in attacking religion he was performing a service to humanity similar to that of the Latin poet in attacking superstition, and also that in his philosophy of nature and necessity he was following in the footsteps of the most illustrious poet who had embodied scientific conceptions in verse."⁴⁹ In Shelley's notes on *Queen Mab*, v. 112-113, he quotes Lucretius, 3,85 as his source.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 445-446.

⁴⁵ *The Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, Marshall, Vol. 1, p. 329.

⁴⁶ *Letters*, Vol. 2, p. 655.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 346.

⁴⁸ *Lucretius*, 4. 1-3; 5-7.

⁴⁹ *Cambridge Edition of Shelley's works*, p. 594.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 597.

In the letter written to Godwin in 1812, discussing the value of the classics, Shelley writes: ⁵¹

"Did Greek and Roman literature refine the soul of Johnson? Does it extend the views of the thousand narrow bigots educated in the very bosom of classicality? But

*in publica commoda peccem
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora,*

says Horace at the commencement of his longest letter."

The boyish enemy of the classics naïvely quotes his Bible, like the Devil, for his own purpose. Shelley, in those days, was a non-conformist in every way, and his schoolboy studies did not escape his attacks. Fortunately for him and for us, he was completely converted to the cause of classics, and became almost a fanatic in his devotion, especially to Greek.

Writing to T. L. Peacock, in 1816, while touring Lake Geneva, he says: ⁵² "'*Diespiter per pura tonantes egit equos:*' a phenomenon which certainly had no influence on me, corresponding with that which it produced on Horace." In a letter to Peacock, dated 1819, Naples, he writes: ⁵³

You see how ill I follow the maxim of Horace, at least in its literal sense: "*nil admirari*" — which I should say, "*prope res est una*" — to prevent there ever being anything admirable in the world. Fortunately Plato is of my opinion; and I had rather err with Plato than be right with Horace.

Shelley had been describing the beauties of Pompeii.

Writing to Peacock from Pisa in 1812, he says: ⁵⁴ "Procter's verses enrage me far more than those of Codrus did Juvenal, and with better reason. Juvenal need not have been stunned, unless he had liked it; but my boxes are packed with this trash, to the exclusion of what I want to see."

Shelley was passionately eager to share, with those he loved, the precious substance he had discovered. Keats and Shelley never became intimate friends because of the untimely death of

⁵¹ *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 348.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 492.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 667.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 860.

Keats, which, alone, prevented Keats from learning Greek; and Shelley was to have been his instructor. In a letter to Marianne Hunt, Shelley writes:⁵⁵ "I intend to be the physician both of his body and his soul, to keep the one warm, and to teach the other Greek and Spanish."

Shelley essayed to teach his first wife, Harriet, Latin; not grammatically, but, as he says⁵⁶ "by the less laborious method of teaching her the English of Latin words, intending afterwards to give her a general idea of grammar."

Fortunately, Shelley's second wife, Mary, shared his intellectual tastes completely. She gives a list of books read by him in 1816,⁵⁷ containing the following Greek and Latin authors: Theocritus, Moschus, Aeschylus, Lucian, Lucretius, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Plutarch, Curtius. The list for the year following contains the names,⁵⁸ Plato, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Homer, Arrian, Homeric Hymns, Apuleius, Ovid. On August 4, 1816, Shelley's twenty-fourth birthday, his wife and he went boating at Mont Alegre, and Mrs. Shelley read aloud to him the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, and, later in the day, Curtius. Shelley finished Pliny's letters, and began a reading of the *Panegyric on Trajan*.⁵⁹ After the death of her son, William, in 1818, Mrs. Shelley turned to reading to soften her grief. Livy and Lucan were among the works she read during this time.⁶⁰ In 1820 Mrs. Shelley took up the study of Greek with avidity. The iteration of "Read Greek" in her journal of this period shows the earnestness of her purpose.⁶¹

Shelley's attitude toward Christianity was tinted by his studies in ancient literature. In a letter to Godwin, in 1812, while Shelley was still a youth, he writes:⁶² "I know that Milton

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 839.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

⁵⁷ *Life*, Dowden, Vol. 2, pp. 74-75.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 184-185.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 37.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 272.

⁶¹ *The Life and Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, Vol. 1, p. 272.

⁶² *Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 265.

believed Christianity, but I do not forget that Virgil believed ancient Mythology."

I have made no attempt in this paper to trace the influence of the ancient classics on the *poetry* of Shelley, but I have merely tried to show the place they had in his life, using, wherever possible, Shelley's own words. Shelley's bosom interest was Greek literature — the dramatists and Plato, especially — and he had all the passion of the evangelist in his desire to show his find to others. While Latin occupied a place second to Greek in his affection, he seems to have read more widely in this field than in Greek. And what is more surprising to us, in this day of wholesale translation consumption, he read the ancient authors in the original.

HOMERIC ORATORS AND AUDITORS

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The vigorous and eloquent speeches delivered by various Homeric heroes, especially in the *Iliad*, have naturally interested many students of Homer in the question of Homeric oratory. Various treatises have accordingly been written on the subject. For the most part, however, these are concerned with such problems as the style and content of individual speeches, the character of a hero as portrayed by his speech, or the formulae used to introduce and close a speech.¹ In the course of a recent re-reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it occurred to me to examine also the attitude of the Homeric audience toward orators and their speechmaking, that is, to determine the characteristics by which an orator's ability was measured and the qualities which were considered indispensable to an effective speech. No one, I believe, has approached the subject primarily from this point of view. Croiset does touch on it incidentally in his doctoral dissertation, an exceedingly brilliant and fascinating study, *De Publicae Eloquentiae Principiis apud Graecos in Homericis Carminibus*. He is chiefly concerned with an examination of narration, argumentation, oratorical effects, and arrangement of matter as exhibited in the Homeric speech. Even in his first chapter which is devoted to a study of the orators and the audience in Homer he deals especially with the inalienable right of every man to express his opinion in assembly, the childlike character of the Homeric audience which permitted it to be easily swayed, and

¹ Cf. Berger, *De Iliadis et Odysseae Partibus Recentioribus sive de Arte Inducendi et Concludendi Sermonis Homerica*; Hertzberg, *De hypotheticis apud Homerum locutionibus*. There is of course general discussion of Homeric oratory in the books on Attic oratory, e.g. Jebb, *The Attic Orators*, vol. I, pp. cvi ff.

the fact that the oratory of that age was essentially aristocratic. The actual expression of interest by the audience and their opinion as to what constituted good oratory have nowhere been adequately treated.

Homeric eloquence is a "natural" eloquence, that is to say, it belongs to an age in which a theory of rhetoric had not yet been developed. This does not mean that a speech was necessarily "unstudied" or that all of the speeches are extempore. On the contrary the speeches of Homer exhibit a perfection of eloquence. A man might cultivate the power of speech as much as he wished; but as long as this cultivation was not theoretic, his eloquence must be termed natural or empirical. As Croiset says,² there were no schools of oratory, and oratory was not taught by any art or discipline. Homeric eloquence is essentially aristocratic, that is, the effectiveness of an orator's speech depended on his birth and position as well as on his oratorical ability. This is of course due to the character of Homeric society. Fair words were expected from the nobly born. In answer to Antinous' complaint about bringing Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, to the house, Eumaeus says: "Antinous, no fair words are these of thine, noble though thou art."³ It is true that every man had a right to make himself heard in the assembly, but his opinions were apt to be disregarded unless they coincided with those of the chiefs. Even Thersites was heard by the assembly, nor did anyone question his right to speak. The objections were altogether to what he said. In *Iliad* xii an eagle appears before the Trojan host bearing a serpent which it lets drop in the midst of the army. Polydamas takes it as an omen and tries to dissuade Hector from advancing to fight the Greeks by the ships: "Then verily Polydamas stood by brave Hector and spake: 'Hector, ever dost thou rebuke me in the assemblies, though I counsel wisely; since it by no means beseemeth one of the people to speak contrary to thee in council or in war, but always to increase thy power; but now

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff.

³ *Od.* xvii, 381 ff. The translations used are the Lang-Leaf-Myers translation of the *Iliad* and the Butcher and Lang translation of the *Odyssey*.

again will I say all that seemeth to me to be best.' " ⁴ The general attitude toward the importance of the common people seems to be that of Odysseus when he tried to restrain them from rushing for the ships in the second book of the *Iliad*. "But thou art no warrior and a weakling, never reckoned whether in battle or in council." ⁵

It is in the assembly of all freemen that many of the speeches in Homer were delivered. This is of course natural for there it was possible to broadcast anything of interest to the community and to debate problems which affected the people as a whole. The Ithacans came together automatically for an assembly to discuss the slaying of the suitors. "As for them they all fared together to the assembly-place, in sorrow of heart. When they were all gathered and come together, Eupheithes arose and spake among them." ⁶ Apparently the assembly could be convened by anyone at any time. This is shown when Telemachus called an assembly before his departure in search of his father. The old man Aegyptus addressed the assembly:

Never hath our assembly or session been since the day that goodly Odysseus departed in the hollow ships. And now who was minded thus to assemble us? On what man hath such sore need come, of the young men or of the elder born? Hath he heard some tidings of the host now returning, which he might plainly declare to us, for that he first learned thereof, or doth he show forth and tell some other matter of the common weal? ⁷

There are numerous examples also of speeches before the council of the chiefs and the greatest speech of all is delivered in Achilles' private quarters. ⁸ In all cases the speeches are equally eloquent and the object is always persuasion. True it is clear that Homeric oratory is usually connected with debate, that is, it is parliamentary or deliberative. There are no examples of forensic oratory

⁴ *Iliad*. xii, 210 ff.

⁵ *Iliad*. ii, 201 ff.

⁶ *Od.* xxiv, 420.

⁷ *Od.* ii, 26 ff.

⁸ Achilles' speech in answer to the embassy sent by Agamemnon, *Iliad* ix, 307 ff.

in Homer. In the trial scene depicted on the shield of Achilles, great popular interest is exhibited by the numerous vociferous partisans on both sides. It is evident that the litigants addressed their remarks quite as much to the audience as to the judges.⁹ This situation may very well have given occasion for oratorical displays. There is nowhere else in the poems anything in the nature of litigation. There is little in Homer which corresponds to the epideictic or display oratory of fourth-century Athens. Perhaps comparable to epideictic oratory is the whole narrative of Odysseus which Alcinous likens to the tale of a bard. "Thy tale as when a minstrel sings, thou hast told with skill, the woes of all the Argives and of thine own self."¹⁰

It is clear then that the Homeric audience, whether composed of the common people or limited to the chiefs, took great delight in good oratory. Gladstone has aptly said: "As, when we find these speeches in Homer, we know that there must have been men who could speak them, so, from the existence of units who could speak them, we know that there must have been crowds who could feel them."¹¹ There are many illustrations of this, but a few examples will suffice. In *Odyssey* viii, 167 ff. Odysseus says that men gaze on an orator as on a god. In *Odyssey* xx, 268 f. great emphasis is laid on the wonder of the suitors at Telemachus' bold speech. "They all bit their lips and marvelled at Telemachus in that he spake boldly." After Achilles' refusal to renounce his wrath in *Iliad* ix, 430, "they all held their peace and were still, and marvelled at his saying; for he denied them very vehemently." At the interruption in Odysseus' speech in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey* "dead silence fell on all, and they were spellbound throughout the shadowy halls."¹² The audience was always ready to listen to an orator with attention and respect. For example, after the formal renunciation of Achilles' wrath Agamemnon answers from his seat, not standing as was customary, —

⁹ *Iliad* xviii, 497 ff.

¹⁰ *Od.* xi, 368 f.

¹¹ *Studies on Homer*, iii, 107.

¹² xi, 333 f.

O Danaan friends and heroes, men of Ares' company, seemly is it to listen to him who standeth up to speak, nor behoveth it to break in upon his words; even toward a skilled man that were hard. For amid an uproar of many men how should one listen or yet speak? Even the clearest-voiced speech is marred. To the son of Peleus I will declare myself but ye other Argives give heed and each mark well my word.¹³

The orator was regarded as inspired by god just as the bard. Odysseus says in *Odyssey* viii, 167 ff. that god crowns the words of an orator with beauty.

Oratorical ability was considered on a par with prowess in battle. The combination of the two made the ideal Homeric hero. Μάχη and ἀγορή alone in Homer win the epithet καδιάνειρα, "mannobling."¹⁴ There are many passages in which the two are brought together. For instance Phoenix says to Achilles: "He (Peleus) sent thee to Agamemnon forth from Phthia, a stripling yet unskilled in equal war and in debate wherein men wax pre-eminent. Therefore sent he me to teach thee all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds."¹⁵ And Odysseus delights the shade of Achilles by the following description of Neoptolemus: "Now oft as we took counsel around Troy town, he was ever the first to speak and no word missed the mark; the godlike Nestor and I alone surpassed him. But whensoever we Achaians did battle on the plain of Troy, he never tarried behind in the throng or the press of men, but ran far before us all, yielding to none in that might of his."¹⁶ Another passage of the same sort is the address of Nestor to Diomedes: "Tydeides, in battle art thou passing mighty, and in council art thou among thine equals in years; none of all the Achaians will make light of thy word nor gainsay it."¹⁷ On the occasion of his speech to the Greeks when they are terrified by Hector's prowess, Thoas, son

¹³ *Iliad* xix, 78 ff. Cf. in Attic oratory the request to the jurors not to interrupt the speaker. Plato, *Apology* 20E; 21A; 27B; 30C.

¹⁴ Of μάχη, *Iliad* iv, 225; of ἀγορή, i, 490.

¹⁵ *Iliad* ix, 439 ff.

¹⁶ *Od.* xi, 510 ff.

¹⁷ *Iliad* ix, 53 ff.

of Andraimon, is described as "far the best of the Aetolians, skilled in throwing the dart, and good in close fight, and in council did few of the Achaeans surpass him, when the young men were striving in debate."¹⁸ Another interesting passage in this connection is a speech of Hector's to encourage the Trojans after they have heard Achilles' eloquent exhortation to the Greeks: "High-hearted Trojans, fear not Peleus' son. I too in words could fight even immortals, but with spears it were hard for they are stronger far."¹⁹ Men who were too old to fight were yet valued as counsellors and orators. Of the Trojan elders at the Scaean gates Homer says: "These had now ceased from battle for old age, yet were they right good orators, like grasshoppers that in a forest sit upon a tree and utter their lily-like voice."²⁰

In view of this manifest interest in oratory it is strange that there is no occurrence in Homer of the names ending in the suffix *-αγορας*, such as Protagoras, Aristagoras, which were so common in later times. The names Euphetes, Polyphetes, Pisanor, Pisander, Pisistratus, and Eupeithes, however, may indicate efficiency in the council or the assembly.²¹

There were no schools of oratory, but nevertheless all men knew how to speak. This is of course obvious in view of the necessity of speaking in council. The good counsellor is also the good orator. For instance, Nestor speaks of Peleus as "that goodly counsellor of the Myrmidons and orator."²² Similarly Echeueus, and elder of the Phaeacians, is described as "excellent in speech and skilled in much wisdom of old time."²³ Women on the contrary had no need of skill in speaking. Telemachus says to Penelope: "Howbeit go to thy chamber and mind thine own housewiferies, the loom and distaff, and bid thy handmaids ply their tasks. But speech shall be for men, for all, but for me in

¹⁸ *Iliad* xv, 282 ff.

¹⁹ *Iliad* xx, 366 ff.

²⁰ *Iliad* iii, 150 ff.

²¹ Croiset, *op. cit.* pp. 5 f., considers it doubtful if these names pertain to public eloquence.

²² *Iliad* vii, 126.

²³ *Odyssey* vii, 156 f.

chief, for mine is the lordship in the house." ²⁴ Great emphasis is laid on the inexperience of young men in speaking as compared with the older men. The audience marvels if a young man speaks well and wisely as his elders do. Wisdom which comes with old age is indispensable for the orator. After the departure of Telemachus in search of his father Penelope laments: "And now again, my well-beloved son is departed on his hollow ship, poor child, not skilled in toils or in the gatherings of men." ²⁵ Reference has already been made to the passage in which Phoenix says that when Achilles came to war he was "a stripling, yet unskilled in equal war and in debate wherein men wax preëminent." ²⁶ An excellent comparison of the ability of the old and the young speaker is found in Nestor's speech to Telemachus when the latter visits him at Pylos:

There never a man durst match with him (Odysseus) in wisdom, for goodly Odysseus very far outdid the rest in all manner of craft, Odysseus thy father, if indeed thou art his son, — amazement comes upon me as I look at thee; for verily thy speech is like unto his; none would say that a younger man would speak so like an elder. ²⁷ Now look you, all the while that myself and goodly Odysseus were there, we never spake diversely either in the assembly or in the council, but were always of one mind, and advised the Argives with understanding and sound counsel how all might be for the very best. ²⁸

Again Nestor counsels Diomedes as follows:

Moreover thou art a young man indeed. . . . yet thou counsellest prudently the princes of the Achaians because thou speakest according unto right. But lo, I that avow me to be older than thou will speak forth and expound everything; neither shall any man despise my saying, not even the lord Agamemnon. ²⁹

²⁴ *Od.* i, 356 ff.

²⁵ *Od.* iv, 817 f.

²⁶ *Iliad* ix, 440 f.

²⁷ The reference is of course not to the quality of the voice, but to what was said.

²⁸ *Od.* iii, 120 ff.

²⁹ *Iliad* ix, 57 ff.

The wisdom of the speech of Trojan Polydamas is especially mentioned:

Upon their feet they stood in the assembly, neither had any man heart to sit, for fear was fallen upon all because Achilles was come forth, after long ceasing from fell battle. Then began to speak among them wise Polydamas, son of Panthoos, for he alone saw before and after. Comrade of Hector was he, and in the same night were both born, but the one in speech was far the best, the other with the spear.³⁰

There are many passages which indicate the various characteristics which constituted good oratory in the estimation of the Homeric audience. Beauty of speech was more to be desired than beauty of form. Odysseus declares to the taunting Euryalus before he enters the Phaeacian games:

So true it is that the gods do not give every gracious gift to all, neither shapeliness nor wisdom, nor skilled speech. For one man is feebler than another in presence, yet the god crowns his words with beauty, and men behold him and rejoice, and his speech runs surely on its way with a sweet modesty, and he shines forth among the gathering of his people, and as he passes through the town men gaze on him as a god. Another again is like the deathless gods for beauty, but his words have no crown of grace about them; even as thou art in comeliness preëminent, nor could a god himself fashion thee for the better, but in wit thou art a weakling. Yea, thou hast stirred my spirit in my breast by speaking thus amiss.³¹

There is no better passage to illustrate what the Homeric audience liked than the comparison of the speeches of Odysseus and Menelaus on their embassy to Troy:

And when they began to weave the web of words and counsel in the face of all then Menelaus harangued *fluently*, in *few words* but *very clearly*, seeing he was *not long of speech*, *neither random*, though in years he was the younger. But whenever Odysseus, full of wiles, rose up, he stood and looked down, with

³⁰ *Iliad* xviii, 246 ff.

³¹ *Od.* viii, 167 ff.

eyes fixed upon the ground, and waved not his staff whether backwards or forwards, but held it stiff, like to a man of no understanding; one would deem him to be churlish and naught but a fool. But when he uttered his *great voice* from his chest, and *words like unto the snowflakes of winter*, then could no mortal man contend with Odysseus; then marvelled we not thus to behold Odysseus' aspect.³²

Relevancy of speech is often remarked on. Of Neoptolemus Odysseus says: "Now oft as we took counsel around Troy town, he was ever the first to speak, and no word missed the mark."³³ Beautiful sounding speech was also desirable. The old orator Nestor is described as "*pleasant of speech, the clear-voiced orator of the Pylians, he from whose tongue flowed discourse sweeter than honey.*"³⁴ Naturally the orator was expected to speak forcefully. So after Telemachus' speech to the suitors in the twentieth book of the *Odyssey*, the poet continues:

They all bit their lips and marvelled at Telemachus in that he spake *boldly*. Then Antinous, son of Eupheithes, spake among them, saying: "Hard though the word be, let us accept it, Achaians, even the word of Telemachus, though *mightily* he threatens us in his speech. For Zeus Cronion hath hindered us of our purpose, else would we have silenced him in our halls, *shrill orator* as he is."³⁵

Speeches for the most part were made out of doors. On this account a loud, vigorous voice was necessary. The voice of the orator is therefore called ἀτειρής. For instance in the thirteenth book of the *Iliad* when Poseidon rises from the sea to save the Argives from the attack of Hector and the Trojans he is likened to Calchas "in form and *untiring* voice."³⁶ In contrast to this is the delicate voice of the Trojan elders who "had now ceased from battle for old age, yet were they right good orators, like grass-

³² *Iliad* iii, 212 ff.

³³ *Od.* xi, 510 f.

³⁴ *Iliad* i, 248 f.

³⁵ *Od.* xx, 268 ff. λιγύς is here translated "shrill." It should rather be "clear-voiced" or "ringing-voiced" as in the description above of Nestor.

³⁶ *Iliad* xiii, 45.

hoppers that in a forest sit upon a tree and utter their *lily-like* voice."³⁷ From these passages, then, the chief qualities considered necessary for good oratory may be gathered. An orator must have a good, clear voice so that he could be plainly heard. An orator in the assembly or council always held a staff, but he was expected to make appropriate gestures with the staff or with his arms. Apparently a motionless orator was considered stupid. Modesty of bearing was also looked upon as a desirable quality. As for the speech the arguments must be well ordered, they must be based on knowledge, they must be pertinent to the issue, they must be couched in beautiful language, they must be lucid and must be uttered with fluency and smoothness. On the other hand, especially in the case of Thersites, the poet indicates that there were several things which were felt to be distinctly bad taste in oratory.

Only Thersites chattered on, the uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words many and disorderly, wherewith to strive against the chiefs idly and in no good order, but even as he deemed that he should make the Argives laugh. And he was ill-favoured beyond all men that came to Ilios. . . . But now with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings upon goodly Agamemnon. With him the Achaeans were sore vexed and had indignation in their souls. But he with loud shout spake and reviled Agamemnon.³⁸

Undesirable then were disorderliness, recklessness of speech, and raving, prating talk.³⁹ It may be assumed from the description of Thersites' speech that the Homeric audience was not above enjoying a laugh on occasion, and that the orators did not fail to please them in this respect.

³⁷ *Iliad* iii, 150 ff. The word *λειριόεσσαν* has caused much discussion. The scholiasts explain it as meaning *ἐπιθυμητήν, ἡδεϊάν*. The word seems undoubtedly to denote a delicate voice.

³⁸ *Iliad* ii, 212 ff.; cf. 247 ff.

³⁹ It is perhaps unnecessary to observe that truthfulness was desirable. Cf. *Od.* xi. 363 ff.

AVE ROMA IMMORTALIS

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Italy in winter and Sicily in spring made a wonder year as well as a wander year for me. But I did not have to wait for Italy in order to see Rome. I was constantly impressed by the traces of Roman occupation outside of Italy. That wonderful Pont du Gard in southern France, built 21 B. C., standing yet in all its beauty and majesty; the beautiful Maison Carée at Nîmes; the amphitheatre at Nîmes, still used for bullfights; the well-preserved theatre at Arles; the remains of the noble Roman arches and walls in England — all these things thrilled me and made me realize more than ever before that Rome's arm was long. I exclaimed over and over, "How those old Romans did build; truly not for time, but for eternity." Byron's "And when Rome falls, the world" rang true in my ears. I walked a long way into the aqueduct of the Pont du Gard, through the passage where the water was carried. It is considerably higher than one's head, and so wide that the arms can be stretched out lengthwise. And then there were those invisible memorials that tapped at memory's door as I traveled through France, Switzerland, and England. A statue of Vercingetorix on the little hill of Alesia pictured for me the great hordes of Gauls coming up to help the beleaguered town and crush the power of Rome — only to be crushed themselves forever. The waters of Lake Geneva and a bridge over the Rhone brought the Helvetian War close to my mind. As I motored over the battle fields of France, I was not only seeing the recent slaughter of the Marne and the Aisne, but I heard the tramp of the Roman legions as Caesar fought over that same ground. And when the chalk cliffs of England

loomed up before me, I could almost spy the Britons of old lined up to stop my advance.

But Italy was my goal, and it is now my love. I can almost say with Aeneas, "*Hic amor, haec patria est.*" Four months in Italy and Sicily have only whetted my desire for more. In the Preface to "*Rome and Her Monuments*," by Harold Stannard, a story is told of Pius IX, who would often ask foreigners how long they had been in Rome. If they had been there less than six months, he would say, "So you've seen it all," and pass on. But to one who had stayed in Rome for more than a year, he would say, "So now you know that you can never see it all." I quite realize the truth of that statement, although my stay was so short. But it was long enough to make me yield to the wonderful fascination of the eternal city; where ancient, mediaeval, and modern jostle one another; where paganism and Christianity meet; where you imbibe history at every breath; where you revel in art and architecture and feed on mythology.

Rome is a comfortable city in which to live; small enough to enable you to feel at home, but packed to the brim with interest — and such varied interest. You may start out in the morning in a little *carozza*, drive through narrow, winding streets, past ancient ruins and modern shops, to the Vatican, and feast your eyes on mediaeval painting and ancient sculpture. In the afternoon you may spend an hour or so in the Forum, reconstructing the spirited scenes in which Caesar and Cicero moved, and then hunt up the little church of Santa Pudenziana, and make your way by the light of a dripping candle down underneath the church to the home of Pudens, whom Paul mentions, where Peter is supposed to have lived. Perhaps you will go from there to the Mausoleum of Augustus, now turned into a great concert hall, where you will hear heavenly music. You may complete the day by driving to the Aventine Hill and having afternoon tea at the Castello dei Cesari, sitting on the terrace and gazing at the sunset lighting up the ruins on the Palatine opposite.

The language fascinates you, too, if you are a Latinist. I didn't know a word of Italian when I went, and it was such fun

to use my Latin in deciphering shop signs, directions in street cars, newspapers, movies, etc. I even used it to advantage in asking questions of Italian guides. And of course when I began really to study Italian, it was invaluable. The survival of the ancient in various ways is most interesting. S.P.Q.R. confronts you on every hand. The wolf is commonly seen; a live one is kept in a cage beside the steps leading to the Capitol. The salute of the Fascisti is the cry "*Io*," with the arm thrown straight out in the old Roman salute. And after eating day after day a meal in which the first course consisted of *hors d'oeuvres* which always contained eggs in some form, while nuts and fruit ended the meal, I felt I understood the proverb, *Ab ovo ad mala*.

I had, too, such wonderful drives around Rome, and up into the hills. The Alban and Sabine hills, Lavinium, Tivoli, Tusculum — the pictures those names brought up and the delight it was to spend lovely days there, gathering anemones and daisies, looking into the crystal mirror of Lake Nemi, where lived

"The priest that was the slayer,
And shall himself be slain;"

and listening to the glorious waterfall by the temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli.

I am not going to tell of the Forum and the Palatine; they are too well known. But oh the beauty of the Forum in May, with the wistaria covering the old gray stones, and roses everywhere, and the scarlet poppies filling the empty rooms in the ruins of the palaces on the Palatine! One little touch in the Forum last winter was very impressive to me and brought ancient and modern close together. Over the spot where Antony delivered the funeral oration, and the dead body of Caesar was burned on the great funeral pyre, Augustus later built the Temple of Caesar. On the ruins of this temple, Mussolini had placed a large funeral wreath, tied with great red and yellow streamers, the colors, I supposed, of Rome.

The guidebooks cannot keep up with the new excavations. Right outside of the gate of Porta Maggiore you can go down underground, and find a perfect gem of a church, discovered by

accident quite recently. They were digging on a line of rail, and the story is that one of the men fell through into this basilica. At any rate, mere chance revealed this lovely church, which has beautiful frescoes on walls and ceiling. Just what it was is not known; all that is sure is that it is pagan, not Christian. Another of these late excavations was also discovered by chance in 1921, while a man was building a garage. It is an early Christian church, and on its walls are what are believed to be the earliest known pictures of Peter and Paul. These pictures date from the first or second century, and may very possibly have been done by some one who had actually seen the disciples.

Another very interesting place is the church of San Clemente. You first enter the modern church; modern because it was built as late as 1108. (All time is relative in Rome.) Then you descend — one is always descending in Rome — to a third-century church of the time of Constantine, with beautiful columns, and with frescoes on the walls. The twelfth-century church was built over this, and the one below was filled up with debris and forgotten until again discovered in 1851. Then they found that this, also, was built over an earlier edifice which was under water. It has been drained, though it is still pretty damp and drippy, and you go still farther down into the house of St. Clement, contemporaneous with St. Peter. It is believed to have been a meeting place of Peter, Barnabas, and Paul. Also down there is a chapel of Mithras — that strange pagan worship that strove with Christianity; — and the lowest walls are of the Tarquin period. Picture it: Roman and mediaeval, pagan and Christian, the period of the early kings and of the late emperors, all jostling one another in this little spot.

On the Appian Way, too, down below the ancient church of St. Sebastian the remains of beautiful villas have recently been excavated. They have wonderful fretted roofs, and inscriptions on the walls which show that here, too, must have been a meeting place of the early Christians.

All this excavation work was marvellously interesting to me. One of the days which especially stands out was my visit to Ostia,

the old seaport of Rome. The sea has so encroached upon the land, however, that Ostia is now three miles inland. Ostia has been excavated quite recently — indeed is still being excavated, as is true at all the sites of excavation in Italy, and it and Pompeii show two different sides of ancient life, Pompeii being the home of the wealthy, leisure classes, while Ostia was a bustling seaport and a busy commercial city. One feels the desolation much more at Ostia than at Pompeii, for Ostia was gradually abandoned and died from neglect, while Pompeii was killed by a sudden blow in the height of her glory, and her streets and houses look gay and festive even yet. Ostia has wide streets, and great apartment houses with two and three stories built around a central court, the forerunner of the modern apartment house. There are beautiful mosaics on the floors, and paintings on the walls. There is a theatre, a fire brigade station, and a place that seems to have been an exchange or a sort of chamber of commerce, for the inscriptions on the pavements tell that here various merchants had their offices. There are temples and a forum, private houses, granaries and mills, wonderful baths, wine shops — one has a marble counter with shelves, and basins for washing the glasses, and a bench where the patrons could sit and gossip. And loveliest of all things there, out on the wind swept grass, near one of the gates, is a huge statue of — Minerva, is it? She is armed like Minerva, but she is furnished with wings. Some call her "Roma Victrix" and some "Vittoria Allata." Whatever she may be, I felt so glad that they had left her where they found her, and had not carried her off to be shut up, in some museum.

I feared Pompeii might be an anticlimax after Ostia, but that fear proved groundless. I spent two wonderful days at Pompeii, one in a pouring rain which failed even to dampen my enthusiasm, though I was soaked to the skin as I almost literally swam around the old excavations. But fortune smiled upon me when I went out to the new excavations. This is of course the most interesting part of Pompeii, for in this section everything is left just as it was found. They have now learned to excavate so that the houses do not collapse in the process, so that here we find

the upper stories as well as the lower, and sometimes even the roof. The houses are gay with colored columns and bright frescoes; the fountains in the gardens have been restored, so that now they play, as they did of old, around the flowers that have been planted where they used to grow and the statues, which have been left in place. You feel that the owners of these lovely spots have only stepped out for a moment and will soon be back. Election notices in red are on many walls of this street; great doors with the original locks stand at the entrances to houses; in the kitchens are cooking utensils on the stoves and hanging on the walls. There is some glass in the windows, but it is rare. There are shutters which open and close. There are barracks with arms. There are beds with some of the original wood of the feet left. Some of the beds, at least, were cord beds, for marks of the cords are left. There are fine mosaics on the floors and beautiful paintings on the walls. There are some fine triclinia with tables, both built in, one table round, the other oval. On the walls of these dining-rooms are inscriptions, some giving directions to the slaves. In one room there is a brazier for keeping the food hot. There are orchards, with casts of the trunks of trees, placed just where they were so long ago. There is a bar with bottles, jars, and glasses, and a deep jar sunk in the fire to keep the drinks hot. A visit to the new excavations at Pompeii is worth all the trouble it may cause in the way of rearrangement of itinerary; they are not open every day.

I have tried here to dwell only on the less familiar things. But think of the places unmentioned: Naples, for instance, with its fascinating surroundings — Lake Avernus, beautiful now, whatever it may once have been; Cumae, Cape Misenum, Vesuvius. Stories of Vergil haunt you at every step. My windows looked out upon the Castell' dell' Ovo — a great castle which legend says Vergil built in a single night and anchored to an egg in the sea (hence its name) — and the castle is on a little island where Cicero met Brutus after the murder of Caesar.

And then Sicily with its glory of Greek temples, its beauty of land and sea, its wealth of historical and mythological asso-

ciations — of Pluto and Proserpina, of Scylla and Charybdis, Ulysses and the Cyclopes, Aeneas and his Trojans — and its majestic Aetna with its pillar of smoke and fire! And the hill towns of Italy with the Etruscan tombs, and the beautiful Italian lakes! No wonder Vergil sang the beauties of the land. And Sirmio — "Sweet Catullus' all-but island, olive silvery Sirmio." To find a proper stopping-place is hopeless. Go, look, and love, and come back to your classes pulsating with enthusiasm. *AVE ROMA IMMORTALIS.*

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

HOMERIC SUGGESTIONS

The termination $\omicron\psi$ or $\omega\psi$ in the *Iliad* is generally received in an active sense, as referring to the eye that sees. This seems somewhat far-fetched in the expression $\alphaἶθοπα οἶνον$ (A 462), and still more in $\omicronἶνοπα πόντον$ (A 350). The dictionaries give as a secondary value for it "countenance," making it passive and referring it to the object seen. Will not this value give a better interpretation to the word $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\chi\omega\psi$, usually translated as "quick-eyed" or "darting-eyed," making it refer to the curls surrounding the face, and making Chryseis simply the curly-headed daughter of the old priest?

This expression is also used for the Achaeans. The oldest representation of them that I know (I have not been able to study the Cretan and Mycenaean) is in archaic statues of Apollo at Thebes and Delphi. In all of these the god is represented with curls, and Leaf's edition of the *Iliad* reproduces a vase of the 5th century B.C. showing the duel between Hector and Ajax (identified by name), each of whom has long curls. Probably the maker of this vase so understood it.

I am struck by Homer's insistence on the hair of the Greeks. I have given detailed study only to the first three books, but in these he uses the expressions $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\ \kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\omega\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (B 472, etc.), $\delta\pi\iota\theta\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\omega\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (B 542), $\xi\alpha\nu\theta\eta\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\omicron\mu\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\ \Pi\eta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\alpha$ (A 197), and he mentions Meleagros and Menelaos as yellow-haired.

Was he trying to bring out a racial difference between Nordic Achaeans and inferior peoples with black and stiff or scanty hair, dominated by the Northerners? Possibly B 219,

$\Phi\omicron\Xi\delta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\eta\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu,\ \psi\epsilon\delta\nu\acute{\eta}\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\nu\omicron\theta\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu,$

indicates that Thersites was not of the ruling race. If communication with Africa had then been common we might suspect a touch of

the tar-brush, but more probably the reference would be to Tatars, sparsely haired, especially on the face, and perhaps brachycephalic.

Doubtless the Achæans were relatively new-comers at Mycenæ, but they preserved traditions of an earlier race who built their great walls and those of Tiryns. Schliemann was sure that the great treasure which he dug up in the citadel of Mycenæ was from the very graves of the Atreids, but archæologists now agree that these graves were centuries earlier. The instant that I saw these golden death-masks, now in Athens, it leaped at me that these were the faces of the "round-heads," namely the Cyclops, whom Perseus brought from Asia (Persia?) to build these walls. Perhaps in Homer's time the word had not yet lost this original meaning, to take on its later purely mythical meaning.

Not only had many kings been before Agamemnon, but also probably at least four other cities had been destroyed on the site of Troy. Since finding the name of Sangara in a list given by Olmstead of Hittite kings warring against Assyria, I feel sure that the name of the River Sangarios (Γ 187) shows that their domain once covered Phrygia and probably also the Troad.

Mr. F. R. J. Calvert, who has been studying these questions for many years from the vantage-point of his farm, situated within a few miles of Hissarlik, corroborates my theory that one of these cities was the result of a Tatar invasion, which may also have covered Greece and even Italy. He says that the earliest Etruscan tombs represent distinctly Tatar types, but that these gradually become less distinctive, till the type becomes indistinguishable from that of their neighbors. If the Greeks had almost exterminated a brachycephalic race, having relatively scanty hair, such as the Tatars, it would explain many things.

Studying over d'Arbois de Jubainville's excellent essay on place names ending in *esco*, *osco*, etc., I find traces reaching from the Caucasus to Spain and even to Scotland, of a prehistoric people, who seem to have left as their last offshoots the Basques, the Etruscans, and the Pelasgi. This is not the idea of d'Arbois de Jubainville, who cites no one of these names, and considers these endings as of Ligurian origin, because he finds the greatest concentration of them in northern Italy—to me evidence of the persistence of the ancient tongue through the Etruscans. He considers this ending as the same as *ish* in English. However, *esco* still persists in Basque as an

adjective ending. They call Latin "*Latinosco*," and "*Guipuscoa*" means the hilly country. Their name for themselves is "*Euskara*," which contains the *usca* element. "Basque" has no meaning in their present tongue, but all their country is in the region contemplated by him, and it carries many closely allied names such as "Tarascon," "Gascony," and "Biscay," omitted because of slight divergences from his norm. On the other hand the Albanians call our country "*Shtet-evet te Bashquara*." Perhaps this may come from the Basques having been considered as the mainstay of a confederation of all their race against some invasion (Celtic?), and so have persisted, though the root "*bashk*," fairly equivalent to "*cum*," was lost from their own tongue.

The two main tribes of the Albanians are known as the Tosks (Tuscans?), and the Ghegs. These have lived as far as we can trace them in the Pindus Mountains, the traditional home of many of the Gigantes, and they have a legend of descent from the Pelasgi. Long before I ever heard of the Ghegs, the received etymology of "Gigantes," as a reduplication of "Gaia," struck me as failing to account for the *antes*, and as savoring too much of *post hoc propter hoc*. Ought not the possibility to be entertained that it comes from *Gheg* instead, and even that the name of Antaeus may have furnished the ending?

I believe that much of historic value can still be derived from Homer by considering theories which at first seem wild, provided that too much weight is not ascribed to them till some independent corroboration is found.

N. T. BACON

PEACE DALE, RHODE ISLAND

[Mr. Bacon is a chemical engineer who finds his recreation in committing Homer to memory. — J. A. S.]

[Since this note appeared in type Mr. Bacon died suddenly on January 3d at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Susan Bacon Keith, of New Haven, Connecticut. The death of his wife only a few months earlier was a blow he could not survive. I have never met a more eager or unselfish person and one freer from all conceit. — J. A. S.]

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; A. T. Walker, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news — occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

Meeting of the Southern Section

The Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South will meet at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, on April 22, 23, and 24.

Grants in Aid of Research

The American Council of Learned Societies, which includes the American Philological Association, will make a limited number of small grants (not exceeding \$300) for the purpose of aiding scholars who require assistance in the conduct of projects of research in the humanistic and social sciences. Grants will be made only to mature scholars and for specific purposes.

* Applications for grants in 1926 must be in the hands of the chairman of the committee by February 28. Scholars who wish to make such applications should secure the circular *Information to Applicants* from the chairman of the committee, Dean Guy Stanton Ford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, or from Waldo G. Leland, Executive Secretary, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, District of Columbia.

Rome

There are 47 students enrolled in the School of Classical Studies in Rome. Of these three are fellows of the School, and nine are holders of fellowships from other institutions for study in Rome.

California

Los Angeles. — The Classics were certainly well provided for in the regular session of the California Teachers' Association, Southern Section, which was held at Los Angeles, December 14 to 18. On Tuesday afternoon the program of the Modern Language section was given over to a study of the Report of the Classical Investigation. Professor A. P. McKinlay, of the University of California, Southern Branch, analyzed the Report, pointing out certain shortcomings and emphasizing the great benefits resulting from the Investigation. Professor V. A. Henmon, of the University of Wisconsin, defended the Report against attacks which have been made on it. He declared that the Report is not merely defensive in tone, nor is it amateurish, but based on sound scientific method.

On Thursday was held the regular meeting of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section. This was opened with a luncheon in the Biltmore Hotel, at the close of which Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, Superintendent of Schools of Los Angeles, spoke of her own experience as a student and then a teacher of the classics, and urged upon her hearers the human and cultural aspects of the ancient literatures. At this point adjournment to a larger hall was made necessary by the pressure of the throngs who came to attend the afternoon session. The program included an address by Professor Edwin M. Rankin, of the University of California, Southern Branch, setting forth the present status of Greek and the encouraging outlook for the future; a picturesque and engrossing narrative of a tour through Southern Italy, illustrated by descriptive passages from classical authors, by Professor Hugh S. Lowther, of Occidental College; a very acceptable vocal solo by Miss Jessie Beeson Freeman, of the University of Southern California; and dances by girls from the Huntington Park Union High School, the flower girls being directed by Miss Irene Tomlinson and the Amazons by Miss Norma Gould.

Massachusetts

Boston. — On December 2 the Classical Club of Greater Boston held a joint social meeting and luncheon with the Eastern Massachusetts Group of the New England Modern Language Association, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Dr. Fred B. Lund, president of the Classical Club, presided. About eighty members were present and greatly enjoyed the papers: "The Dynamics of the Living Past," Professor Henry D. Wild, of the Latin Department, Williams

College, and "Wholesale and Retail," Professor Horatio E. Smith, of the French Department, Brown University.

Boston College. — During November and December a series of four lectures was given under the auspices of the Greek Academy, which was so successful last year in its "Hellenic Revival." On November 18 the picturesque Club House of the Philomatheia Club was crowded to hear the Archon, Francis S. Shea, discuss "The Greek Woman, Her Surroundings, especially in the Works of Homer." After the lecture, following the custom instituted last year, an open discussion was held, in which the character of Helen of Troy was bitterly assailed and vigorously defended. A musical program included a violin solo by George Slamin and baritone solos by Arthur Hagan, of the College. On November 25 the Grapheus of the Academy, Victor T. Newton, spoke on "Women in Aeschylus and Sophocles," contrasting the neglect and seclusion of women during the fifth century and the chivalrous attitude of the poets. A lively discussion followed. The leading lyric tenor of the college, Lawrence Thornton, sang a number of songs. The remaining lectures of the series were: "Women in Euripides," by John O'Laughlin, and "Greek Women from Aristophanes to Theocritus," by Martin J. Kane.

Deerfield. — The Western Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England held its annual meeting at Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, on October 31. The program:

Welcome by Frank L. Boyden, Principal of Deerfield Academy; "The American School at Athens in 1925," Professor Sidney N. Deane, Smith College; "Sunshine and Shadow in the Latin Class," Mr. Charles Huntington Smith, Deerfield Academy; "Criteria for Dating Roman Portraiture (illustrated)," Miss Florence Robinson, Mount Holyoke College; "Some Ancient Hill Towns in Italy (illustrated)," Professor Charles E. Bennett, Amherst College.

Afternoon Session

Business. "Classical Doings in Rome and Vicinity," Professor F. Warren Wright, Smith College; "Some Aspects of the Character of Dido," Professor Arthur Stanley Pease, Amherst College; "Some Problems Confronting High School Teachers of Latin," — discussion led by Miss Bessie M. Miller, North Adams High School.

Pennsylvania

Easton. — The Classical League of the Lehigh Valley held its semiannual meeting at Lafayette College, Easton, on Saturday, De-

cember 5. After a greeting by the President, Dr. George T. Ettinger, of Muhlenberg College, the following officers were elected: President, Dr. Horace W. Wright, Lehigh University; Vice-President, Dr. Henry V. Shelley, Lafayette College; Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Mary L. Hess, Liberty High School, Bethlehem; Executive Committee, Dr. Horace W. Wright, Chairman, Dr. George T. Ettinger, and Miss Mary L. Hess. The program included "Music and Musical Instruments of Ancient Greece and Rome," Miss Gertrude Lear, of the Liberty High School, Bethlehem, a discussion of the musical development of Greece from the Mythical or Heroic Period up to the dissolution of the Roman Empire, and a thesis that the Greeks, and not the Romans, were responsible for the music and musical instruments of today. "A Literary Barbarian," by Dr. Henry V. Shelley, of Lafayette College, was a careful study of the life and work of Lucian. The last paper, "Vergil," by Dr. George T. Ettinger, of Muhlenberg College, was a brilliant discussion of the character and writings of the poet, and his influence on life and literature.

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio. It is the aim of this department to furnish teachers of high-school Latin with material which will be of direct and immediate help in the classroom. Teachers are requested to send to the editor of the department short paragraphs dealing with matters of content, teaching devices, methods, and materials which they have found helpful. Questions regarding teaching problems are also invited. Replies to these will be published in this department if they seem to be of general interest; otherwise they will, so far as possible, be answered by mail. It will, in general, be the policy of this department to publish all such contributions as seem of value and general interest.]

Lantern Slides — Devices

From Professor Wallace N. Stearns, The Illinois Women's College, come the following suggestions for the use of lantern slides in teaching classical geography or in illustrating antiquities. He says, "The scheme has helped me much; possibly it would help someone else."

1. If a relief map be suspended by the side of the screen, the light can be turned on the map (a spotlight would be better) while contours are being studied. Then placing the slides and turning the light to the screen, the local views can be made to follow the map.

2. In studying a ruin, as, for example, the Parthenon, the picture may be thrown on the blackboard, where it can be seen very well by the class. With crayon, the outline of the building may be filled in. "What was" and "what is left" thus stand out in sharper contrast. This, of course, applies to the restoration of any object.

Latin at Sight

The value of the translation of Latin at sight is generally acknowledged. It is unquestionably one of the most successful means of developing vocabulary knowledge, of stimulating a feeling for Latin words in their relation to one another, and of developing what we call "power" in Latin. The best place to introduce sight translation is at the beginning of the first year. It should be continued in greater or less degree as opportunity can be found as long as the study of Latin is continued. If sight translation is begun at the first of the Latin course while sentences are short and simple in structure, it

will be much easier to teach and apply the methods to be employed. Furthermore it has the advantage of catching the pupil at the very beginning of his foreign language work before he has any fixed habits of study. Most teachers will agree, also, that sight translation affords the best opportunity for teaching how to approach a sentence, for teaching the basis of comprehending the meaning of a Latin sentence in the original, for correcting the ever present tendencies toward bad habits and methods of translation, and, in general, for properly guiding a pupil into the knowledge of "how to translate." It is a matter of much satisfaction and encouragement to the pupil himself to find that he is able to make progress from the first in the understanding and translation of Latin which he has not previously prepared.

A very satisfactory plan is to have part of the Latin in the advance assignment translated at sight when the assignment is made. Often time may be saved and added progress made by having the assignment for the next day begin at the point which was reached in sight translation. In first-year work a part of the exercises may be assigned for preparation and the remainder translated at sight. The short stories interspersed between the lessons in many beginners' books lend themselves to the same treatment and much of the reading matter in the back of the more modern texts is well adapted to sight reading. Texts are available containing simple Latin suitable for sight reading in each year of the high-school course (See *Classical Weekly* IV, 127, 223, and V, 55, 79, 87; *Report of the Classical Investigation, Part One*, pp. 144-151; *Latin Notes Supplement No. 11*. *Latin Notes Supplement No. 4* contains excellent material for sight translation in the first year). Their use has its advantages, but for the most part sight reading is most effective when it is an integral part of the text which makes up the regular work of the class.

A very essential part of sight translation, as of other phases of the study of Latin, is the reading of the sentence in the original Latin. This may precede the translation but it will be found helpful frequently to have it done after the sentence is translated and with special attention to phrases and to the grouping of words. It will often be helpful for the teacher to read the Latin in this way while the pupils follow the text. In dealing with more advanced pupils it may sometimes be well to have whole paragraphs thus read and interpreted before sight translation is attempted, but sentence-units are the most satisfactory in teaching beginners.

From the very beginning of sight reading much emphasis should be placed upon taking the thought in the order in which it is presented. Prepositional phrases and other similarly related groups of words usually must be taken together but they do not ordinarily involve any extensive change in the word-order, and in so far as it is possible the Latin should first be translated at sight in the order in which it is written. When the sentence has been taken up in that way and its meaning is clear it should be translated into good English. This procedure will stimulate comprehension of the content as it stands, and, far from creating a tendency to "a mere exchange of verbal symbols," it will make for intelligent translation instead of the effort to piece words together until they "make sense." "Let the sentence unfold as it will," is an injunction of Professor F. J. Miller which will afford valuable returns to all who follow it.

A discussion of particular phrases or words may be necessary before the process of sight translation is completed. It may be necessary at times to pass over the prepositional phrases until the main body of the sentence is understood, or to carry the sentence through stages in which the order of difficult parts is made more nearly to approach that of good English. Moreover the variant meanings of Latin words in different contexts are a constant source of confusion which must be met in sight translation. But the pupil who has training in sight translation from the beginning of his course will meet these difficulties so gradually that much of the trouble will be removed.

A bibliography on the translation of Latin is added for those who may wish to go more deeply into the subject. The suggestions on translation in some of the elementary texts and in various editions of Caesar and Cicero are also helpful.

THE TRANSLATION OF LATIN

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MOORE, F. G. *On Method in Translation*. Service Bureau for Classical Teachers.

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POST, EDWIN. "How to Read Latin at Sight." In *Latin at Sight*, pp. 11-46. Ginn and Co. 1894.

Report of the Classical Investigation, Part One, pp. 46-47; 93-97; 191-204. Princeton University Press, 1925.

Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies, pp. 62-63. (Out of Print.) American Book Co. 1894.

SCOTT, H. F. *Some Points of Emphasis in First Year Latin*, pp. 8-9. Scott, Foresman, and Co.

SHEDD, E. C. "The Translation of Latin," *Classical Weekly* I (1908), 90-91.

WALKER, LOU V. "The Psychology of Sight Translation," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XX (1925), 468-488.

Varying Ability

Miss Calla A. Guyles, of the University of Wisconsin, sends the following suggestions on handling this important problem.

In handling the problem of varying ability in high-school Latin classes I am an enthusiast for the so-called Contract Method. I use it in all advanced classes. The student receives at the beginning of the contract period a contract outline. The period for completing the work is never more than three weeks. For most classes the shorter the period, the greater the interest. A week or ten days seems quite an ideal period.

Each contract outline has three or more sections, called Contract A, B, C, etc. In our plan Contract A must be completed in a satisfactory manner by every student who expects a *cum laude* grade, which is equivalent to a fair. This includes all the regular class work. Contracts B and C are not con-

secutive and contain many suggestions for outside topics, notebooks, charts, extra translation, etc. The satisfactory completion of a good part of this work will carry with it a *magna cum laude* (good) and the pupil who finishes all or almost all the assignments mentioned will receive a *summa cum laude*.

Junior High School Methods

From Miss Guyles comes also this new statement of an old but valuable plan for teaching composition, sight translation, and vocabulary all in one.

In the eighth-grade beginning Latin class of Wisconsin High School in Madison, Wisconsin, the following scheme, by no means original, has met with marked success. As soon as they have any vocabulary with which to work, the pupils are encouraged to write short Latin stories. These are corrected by the teacher, and then the pupil is asked to write the story on the board before class time. In class the pupil who wrote the story takes charge of the translation exercise. Of course this is sight translation for the rest of the class. They like it very much and their enthusiasm is delightful. A recent development of this plan is also successful. The story is written in English and the class must translate it into Latin. The author must first have translated his own story and must be sure of his forms, for he uses no paper.

Vocabulary Devices

The pupil can no more obtain the values of the study of Latin without vocabulary than he could walk without legs, and every device which will aid in increasing knowledge of Latin words has its place. The following is contributed by Miss Harriet Echternach, of the Sterling Twp. High School, Sterling, Ill.

I ask each pupil to write his name on the board, one letter above another in a column, then with each letter to form a Latin word; as,

P uer
a mo
u nda
l ittera

After the pupils have taken their seats, I use these words as a vocabulary drill.

On Translating Cicero's Orations

Miss Jessie D. Newby, Classen High School, Oklahoma City, offers the following as a restatement of an old but helpful device. She includes also a suggestion for varying the plan of selecting content for sight translation.

While Cicero's First Catilinarian Oration was being translated the question

frequently arose, "How long did it take Cicero to say all this?" After the entire speech was finished, it was assigned to the pupils for review in passages averaging ten lines. Each had his translation worked out so that he could give it readily and fluently. They recited consecutively without being called by name and without corrections or discussions. The members of the class were all delighted with the experiment and the entire oration was translated in forty-eight minutes. It could be done in less. A pupil who is capable and fluent will translate the oration more rapidly alone—it has been done in thirty-five minutes—and will better maintain the unity of the oration, but at the expense of less class participation.

Since the reading of ten or twenty line passages at sight seemed to trouble the pupils preparing their next day's work it was decided to read the entire second oration at sight. This is so much a review of the first that with a good outline it is proving quite satisfactory.

Latin Composition and Syntax

Miss Mary Helen Alden, Struthers High School, Struthers, Ohio, sends the following suggestions:

I

In our Latin II Composition work classes show best results by a careful parsing of the sentences for translation from English to Latin during supervised study period. At the following recitation the Latin is written as the English is dictated. This method demands careful preparation of syntax and vocabulary. To stimulate interest and to arouse a spirit of competition, both individual and class, a record of each pupil's errors is posted in the order of their frequency, and with this is given the average for each section.

II

In Vergil classes pupils are asked to keep in a loose-leaf notebook an alphabetically arranged list of rhetorical figures and syntax as each occurs in the lessons. The definition heads the page, and the examples with lines indicated follow.

III

If in the study of syntax too few examples appear in the text to give a clear idea of the construction, clippings illustrating the particular ablatives, datives, etc., which are being studied help to fix the expression in the pupils' minds.

Scrapbook Suggestions

These are from students in the Teachers' Course in Latin, University of Chicago Summer Session, 1925.

A. Table of Contents

- I. Posters
- II. Devices
- III. Jokes
- IV. Newspaper clippings
- V. Advertisements

VI. Topics and Items of Interest

VII. Songs in Latin.

B. Specific Suggestions

1. Pictures with Latin and English names for the following: colors, flowers, fruits, vegetables, birds, and animals.
 2. Declensions illustrated:
 - a. *rosa*
 - b. *puer, periculum, etc.*
 3. Parts of speech illustrated.
 4. Section on "Rome, the Eternal City."

Pictures of the Colosseum, Forum, etc., beneath which are appropriate Latin questions and answers.
 5. "Tum" et "nunc" — Ships (ancient and modern), chariots, autos, etc.
 6. "Hesterno" (hour-glass) — "Hodie" (clock).
 7. Pictures.
 - a. Rembrandt — *Picturas pulchras fecit.*
 - b. Franklin — *Hic vir nos aestimationem pecuniae docet.*
 - c. Lincoln — *Liberator servorum.*
 - d. Cupid — *Hic deus parvus et lascivus est.*
 - e. Sphinx — *Multi homines multos annos hic laboraverunt.*
 - f. Atlas — *Cur Atlas tam defessus videtur?*
 8. Pictures from the Art Institute with typewritten descriptions.
 9. Parts of the human body — eye ear, etc. — illustrated and labeled in Latin.
 10. Illustrated "Cantus."
 - a. "Te cano, Patria" — girl with flag.
 - b. "Oh! Quam odi sevigere mane" — alarm clock.
 - c. "Mica, mica, parva stella" — children looking at a star.
 11. Various characteristics illustrated: girl smiling — *laeta*; man at phone — *studiosus*.
 12. Page of pictures with Latin titles listed at one side.
 13. Pages labeled:
 - a. "In schola."
 - b. "Bellum Terra Marique."
 - c. "Latin helped name the theatres of Chicago."

(Tivoli, Panorama, Capitol, Regent, Apollo, Pantheon).
 14. Latin translations of simple, familiar rhymes and sayings as an incentive to Latin composition and vocabulary knowledge; e.g. *Quinque Porci Parvi*.
- C. Cicero notebook — Life of Cicero given in Latin and illustrated.
- D. Homer and Vergil notebook — Parallel passages from the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid* quoted and illustrated.

Roman Banquets

In answer to an inquiry for sources of information and suggestions concerning Roman banquets the following bibliography is given.

Part I has to do particularly with planning a modern "Roman banquet." Part II includes some of the more satisfactory sources in English of information regarding Roman meals and Roman dining customs. Part III cites selections from the Latin authors which are especially interesting in this connection or afford source material for a Latin club program. The works cited in Part III are all published in the Loeb edition with text and translation, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

It does not seem out of place to add a word of caution against the tendency prevalent in some writers to place too much emphasis upon the exaggerations of the satirists and to picture as a universal Roman custom what were evidently the excesses of a small minority. Distinction should be made also between the period of the empire when Roman luxury in general was at its height and that of the republic in which Caesar and Cicero lived, and whose customs and ideals Vergil endeavored to aid Augustus in perpetuating.

I

"Current Events." CLASSICAL JOURNAL XI (1916), 441; XII (1916), 67; XVII (1922), 335; XIX (1924), 509, 512; XX (1925), 434, 573; XXI (1925), 50; XXI (1926), 302.

FERRIS, SARAH L. "A Roman Banquet at Milwaukee - Downer Seminary." *Classical Weekly* IX, 224.

KIRBY, H. R. "A Roman Triclinium." CLASSICAL JOURNAL VI (1911), 260-261.

"Latin Menus." CLASSICAL JOURNAL XVI (1921), 506. *Classical Weekly* II, 246; V, 15, 159; XIII, 216.

NELSON, J. R. "A Roman Dinner." *The School Review* XVI, 517-519.

"Roman Banquet at Los Angeles High School." *Classical Weekly* IX, 8.

"The Roman *Cena* at Lewis Institute." CLASSICAL JOURNAL I (1906), 200-201. The same as described by Nelson in the *School Review*.

Service Bureau for Classical Teachers. Ask for manuscript giving detailed suggestions for a Roman banquet.

TANZER, HELEN H. "Roman Banquet at Hunter College." *Classical Weekly* IX, 223.

II

BECKER, W. A. *Gallus*. Scene IX, "The Banquet." Longmans, Green, and Co. New York.

DILL, SAMUEL. *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 128-137. Macmillan Co. New York.

FOWLER, W. W. *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, pp. 273-284. Excellent, and emphasizes the period to which high-school Latin is most closely related. Macmillan Co. New York.

- FRIEDLANDER, L. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*. Trans. by L. Magnus. Vol. II, pp. 146-164. E. P. Dutton and Co. New York.
- GUHL AND KONER. *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 501-507. Chas. Scribner's Sons. New York.
- HARPER. *Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*. S. v. "Cena," pp. 312-314. American Book Co. Chicago.
- INGE, W. R. *Society in Rome under the Caesars*, pp. 196-202, 262-270. Applies chiefly to the first century of the empire, but pages 263-265 discuss the changing habits from earlier times. Chas. Scribner's Sons. New York.
- JOHNSTON, H. W. *The Private Life of the Romans*, Ch. VIII, especially pp. 200-214. Scott, Foresman, and Co. Chicago.
- LOSSING, B. J. "The Old Romans at Home." *Harper's Magazine* XLVI, 66.
- McDANIEL, W. B. *Roman Private Life and its Survivals*, pp. 107, 112, 114, 120-136. Marshall Jones Co. Boston.
- PELLISON, MAURICE. *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*. Trans. from the French by Maud Wilkinson. Pp. 164-176. Good for the constant comparisons with earlier customs. Flood and Vincent. Meadville, Pa. (Out of print.)
- PRESTON AND DODGE. *The Private Life of the Romans*, pp. 46-47, 50-56, 70-88. B. H. Sanborn & Co. Chicago.
- SANDYS, J. E. *A Companion to Latin Studies*. 3rd ed., pp. 205-207. Macmillan Co. New York.
- SEYFFERT. *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*. S. v. "Meals."
- TUCKER, T. G. *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, pp. 226-239. Good for his caution against exaggerated accounts. Macmillan Co. New York.

III

- Catullus. *Carmina*, XIII: An invitation to a dinner.
- Cicero. *Ad Atticum*, XIII, 52: Cicero entertains Caesar at dinner.
- Horace. *Epistula*, I, 5: An invitation to dinner. *Satura*, II, 4: An adept in the culinary art.
- Juvenal. *Satura*, IV: "The Council of the Turbots." V: A poor man dines at a rich man's table. XI: Simple fare contrasted with extravagant dinners. Lines 56-119 present a beautiful picture of the simple life of the early Romans.
- Martial. *Epigrammata*, III, 12: In need of a square meal. III, 60 and VI, 11: On distinctions in service to different guests. V, 78 and XI, 52: Invitations to dinner. X, 48: Preparations for a banquet. X, 66: A handsome youth becomes a cook.
- Petronius. *Cena Trimalchionis*: Describes an elaborate dinner given by a wealthy freedman.
- Pliny. *Epistula*, I, 15: Pliny chides a friend for his failure to keep a dinner engagement. II, 6: Contrast between dinner served to clients and to more privileged guests on same occasion. III, 12: He accepts an invitation to dinner.
- Vergil. *Aeneid*, I, 695-756: Dido gives a banquet for Aeneas.

Book Reviews

Rome of the Kings; an Archaeological Setting for Livy and Vergil.

By IDA THALLON HILL, formerly Associate Professor of History, Vassar College. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925.

There are some things to be forgiven in Professor Hill's very valuable book. Its punctuation is exasperating and its style not ingratiating. Its content is too special to be left unannotated. Its two maps are but scant aid, whether for specialist or for general reader; if the general reader is to be interested at all by a subject so unfamiliar, and if the specialist is to work to the best advantage, they should have before them, besides these two general maps, at least a topographical map of Rome and a few illustrations of the abundant antiquities with whose mention the pages teem. It is also sometimes inaccurate: "*Campo Vacchino*," "*Telleni*," and "*Crustumenum*" look strange, "*Cespius*" is not the classical form, and "*Ager Laurentum*" is questionable; it is a surprise to be told that Catiline was among the famous criminals harbored in the Tullianum; the necropolis is not "about the middle of the north side of the Forum;" and if the relief from the tomb of the Haterii is now built into the Porta Maggiore, it must have been removed from the Lateran very recently indeed, and to a not very appropriate place. I think it should be said also that for the publishers to advertise *Rome of the Kings* as if it were a book of wide interest is not quite fair to either author or customer.

Rome of the Kings was acutely needed, and will be exceedingly welcome to students and teachers interested in prehistoric Italy and Rome. Its excellence lies in the gathering up and setting in order between two covers of a vast mass of material hitherto unassembled and practically inaccessible to anyone but the specialist, and to him only as he approached it on Italian soil and in Italian museums and with the ideal linguistic equipment. The first two chapters, "*Fortes ante Romulum*" and "*Antenor the Trojan*," deal with movements

and remains of the pre-Latin races between the Alps and the Roman neighborhood, and are followed by six other chapters: "The Forum and Low-lying Districts of Rome," "The Hills of Rome," "Rome's Conquest of the Campagna," "Etruria and its Early Inhabitants," "The Early Temples of Latium," and "Prehistoric Periods in Museums." These titles, with the Select Bibliography of seventy-six items representing American, British, French, Italian, and German scholarship (but neglecting Leopold and the Nederlandsche Instituut), indicate the range of the subject, the amount of evidence that had to be assembled not only from libraries but from the enormous and more or less undigested collections in the museums, and the gifts of courage and discrimination necessary to its mastery and reduction to convenient dimensions.

One especially gratifying result of Professor Hill's work is the confirmation of the belief, for many years entertained but without the accumulation of sufficient evidence to constitute a satisfactory demonstration, in the general reliability of Livy and Vergil as witnesses for early Rome. With the help of *Rome of the Kings*, it is now much less difficult to see that their accounts are substantially the story of the spade in legendary and literary dress. To quote Professor Hill's last sentence: "Livy himself might indeed be astonished to observe the wealth of material on the sites of ancient cities and in the museums that has been gathered together, not with the specific aim of illustrating his history, but all the more valuable for that very reason in testifying to the essential truth of his account of the heroes of old who laid the foundations for the greatness of Rome."

GRANT SHOWERMAN

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Aristotelianism. By JOHN LEOFRIC STOCKS, Professor of Philosophy, University of Manchester. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series). Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1925. Pp. vii + 163.

There is one respect in which Professor Stocks has not followed Aristotle in his little book on *Aristotelianism*. Aristotle divided his pupils into two classes, the "esoterics" and the "exoterics." He who would write successfully for the "exoterics" must eliminate certain topics, and confine himself largely to the concrete. The series "Our

Debt to Greece and Rome" is addressed to the "exoterics," for the "esoterics" already have some notion of the extent of that debt.

But to revert to the implied criticism that Professor Stocks has not made an altogether wise choice of topics, and that he has not been sufficiently concrete: He has devoted twenty-eight of his one hundred and sixty-three pages to Form and Matter and Simple Bodies. The style in this discussion is clear and direct and perfectly intelligible to an esoteric group of philosophers, — but for one who has not been trained in philosophy, these pages stand as a well-nigh insuperable barrier before chapters that are more inviting. If these twenty-eight pages could have been used in adding concrete illustrative material to the Epilogue (far the most interesting chapter in the book), the book would have been more than justified. To be specific, the reader might have been made to understand by concrete illustrations from the *History of Animals* what Darwin meant when he said: "Linnaeus and Cuvier have been my gods, though in very different ways, but they were mere school boys to old Aristotle." The reader deserved to know the connection between Aristotle and the present theology of the Roman Catholic Church; he deserved to have a more complete statement of the fundamentals of Aristotle's *Ethics*; he deserved to have presented in a tabulated form (such as Benn offers) a list of Aristotle's blunders that stood in the way of scientific progress. And it all could have been done within the limits of twenty-eight pages. One very important book is not mentioned in the bibliography: Haskins' *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

GRINNELL COLLEGE

Greek Ethical Thought from Homer to The Stoics. By HILDA D. OAKELEY, M.A., Oxon. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925. Pp. xlii + 226.

Every effort to make the gold of Greek ethical thought current coin in our present world is justified. There should be generous praise for anyone who, like Miss Oakeley, has made a reasonable attempt to accomplish this purpose. And yet there may be some disagreement as to the best method of accomplishing this desired end. There are some of us who believe that Plato's *Republic* or the *Ethics* of Aristotle will serve as a better introduction to Greek ethical

thought than any florilegium (however well selected), which of necessity mutilates works that have owed their preservation largely to their artistic perfection. What would we not give for all of Heracleitus or all of Democritus? And with the regret of this thought in mind, we turn to the excerpts that Miss Oakeley has made from Plato and Aristotle. Perhaps the general reader who has had a taste of these excellent fragments will be tempted to read Jowett and Weldon and Gomperz and Burnet. At the risk of seeming ungracious the reviewer is going to register other complaints.

The introductory essay is brilliant, and shows a mastery of the field that any one might envy. But whom does it introduce? One who is already saturated with Greek literature from Homer to Marcus Aurelius? Without being an American educationalist the reviewer contends that while there is no royal road to either philosophy or geometry, no one has a right to assume that the learner knows that which he has had no chance to know.

The excerpts from Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Euripides are given in metrical translations. It is obvious that a prose translation gives greater promise of that precision of thought which all ethical thinking demands.

The narrow limits of the book perhaps precluded the inclusion of more than three pages of Hesiod. And yet one must have more than three pages of Hesiod, if he is going to see Greek philosophy in its embryonic form; and he must have more than two pages of the gnomic poets. One of the strongest justifications of such a book of excerpts is that it gives the reader a chance to trace the gradual evolution of Greek ethical thought.

With the Fundamentalist controversy to the fore, the reviewer would express the opinion that it would have been wiser to have given a more complete presentation of Stoic thought from pre-Christian sources.

With the passing of the Greek language (*absit omen!*) from the sight of our practical (?) world, it is inevitable and desirable that there should be books that will bring down to us the content of Greek philosophy. Since this is true, there is a place for frank criticism of all those who "blaze the trail."

CHARLES N. SMILEY

GRINNELL COLLEGE

Teaching High School Latin. By JOSIAH BETHEA GAME. Revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1925.

The first three chapters of this book are general in scope. Changing the wording somewhat, they deal with objectives in the teaching of Latin, the place of Latin in American education, and the arguments which may be used in defense of the subject.

Chapter I heartily endorses the principle that the prime and immediate object in the study of Latin is progressive development of power to read and understand the language. As to the by-products and side-issues that pertain to such a course of training, Professor Game gives a survey of current opinion, and concludes with a summary which, with rewording and rearrangement, follows rather closely the late report of the Classical Investigation.

It might have been well, had a caution been added here. For by-products and side-issues have now come to be dignified by the term "ultimate objectives," and the findings of psychology are often quite mistakenly invoked in support of the claim that by-products will not result from the study of Latin, unless the teacher finds time to cultivate them intensively. Such an attitude quite disregards the fact that, at a time when no one had yet heard of "objectives" in this connection, the teaching of Latin was very rich in by-products. And it is perfectly clear that, if the teacher is to turn aside to the intensive cultivation of many by-products, the chief and all-important business of learning to read Latin will be neglected.¹

Chapter II lags a little behind the present development of the Latin situation in this country. Thus it is stated on page 12:

Practically all high schools of any consequence now offer four years of Latin, except those devoted to special subjects, commercial and technical high schools.²

This may be true in some localities; but the situation is very different throughout the West, at any rate. A count was made about three years ago for the State of California. Excluding technical and night schools, it was found that the two-year Latin course far outranks any other.

Professor Game seems also to take it more or less for granted that, after four years in high school, the student will go on into college

¹ This matter is more fully discussed in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXI, pp. 5 ff.

² There is a somewhat inconsistent remark on the point on p. 85.

Latin. This was the case years ago, but it cannot safely be assumed now. Failure to take into account these changed conditions limits the value of his book.

Thus, there are no suggestions given for handling the special problem of a class that is to drop Latin at the end of two years. And, it should be added, nothing is said of the growing practice of beginning Latin in the seventh grade;³ here there is pressing need of wise direction.

Furthermore, changed conditions invalidate to some extent the many tributes to the value of a training in the classics listed in Chapter II. The men who wrote them are calling up memories of an eight-year course in Latin, when the classics held one of the highest places of honor in the curriculum, and it was felt that there was something esoteric and fine in making the acquaintance of the great men of past ages. From this it is a far cry to a two-year course in Latin in a school where the subject is barely tolerated, and the class is relegated to the most undesirable and cheerless room in the building. To help this situation, the arguments in support of Latin need to be very much revised.

We here touch upon the borders of a subject too large for the limits of a review. One thing, however, may be noted. Administrative ruling hurtful to Latin may not always represent hostility to the subject, as much as it does lack of thought or obedience to supposed necessity.

The problem of spreading the teaching force over an ever increasing body of students, many of whom think they need "vocational" work, may well precipitate an acute financial difficulty; and the emergency rule to the effect that "no class will be organized for less than twenty students" perhaps is aimed at no study in particular, though it is deadly to the "college" subjects.

If it be not sufficient to call attention to the unjust effects of such a ruling, it may also be pointed out that this procedure virtually makes the constitution of the school curriculum to depend upon the vote of irresponsible children.⁴

Chapter III has to do with the defensive tactics of the advocates of the study of Latin. Here Professor Game shows a better appre-

³ Cf. p. 129.

⁴ See, further, "Who Makes the Secondary School Curriculum?" in *Journal of Education* xcvi, No. 2 (Jan. 11, 1923), pp. 39 ff.

ciation of present conditions in the schools, where Latin often is battling merely for a small place in the sun, and asks simply for the right to live.

His words seem to carry a suggestion of censure for "the rather timid reticence of classical teachers." The reviewer would go much farther than he in this respect. The apologetic attitude so often adopted is a serious strategic mistake, and it plays directly into the hands of the enemies of Latin.

Let us suppose two schools, A and B. The first is a classical school with a well-organized curriculum, yearly turning out finely trained and successful students, the other a new venture, with a curriculum based on somebody's *a priori* and untested notions. Suppose that an agent of school B should approach a father, who is desirous of placing his son well, with remarks like these: "Do not send your son to A. The pupils do make a good record there, but it is because the school attracts a better class of students to start with. Moreover, much is due to tradition and atmosphere, which seem to sink in and give the boys polish and refinement. These things are merely incidentals. We have a far superior school in B; it represents the very latest thing in educational theory. By all means place your boy with us." In such a case, where would the burden of proof lie, and to which school would the father send his boy?

A striking instance of this sort is found in the case of Dr. Flexner's Modern School. This was to be an experiment, so it was said; and, in the new order of things nothing was to be saved "for which a positive case could not be made out." Were Latin and Greek to be tried out? Not at all; they were condemned and banished on the basis of the founder's prejudice. Were the subjects included actually on trial? — Oh no, only to the extent of determining how best they could be taught!

Here is a purely theoretical program set over against a system whose worth has been proved by centuries of experience. But Dr. Flexner, backed by his official position and helped by his immense publication facilities, completely befogged the issue by a sharp and unexpected attack upon the classics, which produced a flurry in that camp, and he thus succeeded admirably in spreading the impression that the tried and proved classics were tottering, distracting attention, meanwhile, from the fact that the curriculum proposed for his school represented merely his own prejudices and prepossessions.

The teacher of classics need have little fear of educational fads, provided their sponsors will put their ideas on paper. If they will but do this, they can be beaten every time. Even Dr. Flexner, strongly intrenched as he was, soon found that the walls of his school were being so rudely shaken by counter attack, that it was prudent to cease firing.

In Chapters IV and V of the book there is a plain and sensible discussion of the qualifications for teaching Latin, and for the training of the Latin teacher. Next follow, somewhat illogically, a sketch of the Latin background of English, and tables showing the relative popularity of secondary school subjects.

In Chapter VIII are a few remarks upon the practical aspects of the adoption of textbooks; and, without further preface, the following four chapters take up the work of the Latin high school course, a separate chapter being devoted to each year.

The reader misses here a preliminary discussion of methods. Possibly Professor Game considers this treacherous ground; and it certainly is true that a method that works well for one teacher does not always prove satisfactory for another.

But in view of the recent proposal to revive the inductive method, it would not have been out of place to call attention to the fact that previous attempts to use this method have ended in failure. Farther along in the book Professor Game gives ten lines to the direct method, of which he says (p. 132): "It would undoubtedly work out well if we could begin Latin earlier in the grades." Experience in English schools shows that, even with the best of training, it requires two years of practice before the pupils really "find themselves" in classes in which this method is used; and in America we surely have very few high-school teachers who possess the knowledge and fluency necessary to success in this venture.

The problem of learning to read and understand Latin in the Latin order calls for attention also. A few good students will gain such facility under almost any method; but for the rank and file it would seem that drill would be necessary on specially selected or prepared reading matter.⁵

As above noted, Chapters IX-XII are devoted to a detailed consideration of the problems of the four-year course. Professor Game is in hearty agreement with the plan to lengthen the period of "be-

⁵ See the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XX, 214 ff.

ginning Latin" to three half-years, thus providing a better preparation for the reading of Caesar. Otherwise he is rather conservative as to the reading program, and inclines to hold pretty closely to the old lines; he warns emphatically against attempting to introduce into the high-school course authors and works now commonly read in college.

In the judgment of the reviewer, this advice is in the main sound. In the past, the stability of Latin as a high-school subject has been bound up more or less with its fixed program; one can hardly forecast what would be the result if the norm were to be abandoned and each of the large schools should make up a reading schedule of bits chosen here and there according to its own liking.

It is almost certain that loss of prestige would result, transfer of students from one school to another would be attended with greater difficulty, and pupils would come up to college lacking a solid core of common preparation.

At the same time, it is true that changed conditions call for some readjustment, as in the matter of preparation for Caesar, already referred to above. The point of next greatest difficulty seems to be at the beginning of the third year.

The reading of Caesar is not a particularly good introduction to Cicero. The latter uses a different vocabulary, with long and involved sentence structure. His thought-periods are extensive and complicated, and his subject-matter often far remote from the immediate interest of high-school children.

Moreover, Cicero doubtless has a reputation among the students as being "hard," and there is no special lure to carry pupils on from the second to the third year. If they can only be brought along to the point where Vergil is open to them, the battle will be won in many cases.

Our problem is to solve this difficulty with as little disturbance as possible to the traditional course. If we may take a lesson from the way in which the gap to Caesar is being bridged, we should introduce at the beginning of the third year a considerable amount of attractive material that would prepare the student more fully for the attack upon Cicero later in the year.

To secure the best results, it would be necessary to resort again to made and adapted Latin, Ciceronian in vocabulary, but with simple sentence-structure and shorter thought-periods, and with a content

appealing more strongly to young readers. Latin literature abounds in materials that could be brought together for this end.⁶

Chapter XIII deals with the subject of Latin Composition. Here the author is pessimistic in the extreme. It is hard to believe that the situation is everywhere as bad as he paints it. With very young children, at any rate, it is easy to develop a facility in writing that matches well the ability to read Latin. For older students, Professor Game believes in systematic treatment of syntax rather than a *pari passu* method.

The above chapters on the detail of class procedure seem to reflect the personal experiences of the author. This is as it should be; for though success in teaching is attained by many routes, the young beginner will find it a comfort to be taken in hand by a kindly mentor, and to have pointed out ways and means successfully used by another.

Chapters XIV and XV discuss supplementary materials, with lists of texts for sight reading, reference books, maps, and so forth, with directions how to buy some of these. The final chapter is devoted to miscellaneous questions propounded to the author, such as how best to deal with the use of translations on the part of a class. Appendix A reprints certain recommendations made in the report of the Classical Investigation; and Appendix B adds a further book list of titles that may well be included in a school library. Not many schools could afford to buy all.

In general this seems to be a very satisfactory text. It is modest and rather conservative; and it should prove a valuable help to the inexperienced teacher and to others, especially those who are cut off from stimulating contact with workers in their own field.

H. C. N.

⁶ On p. 99 Professor Game mentions a text constructed along these lines, and for this purpose.

Recent Books

[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

- Aristotle, Works. Ethica Nicomachea.* Translated into English by W. D. Ross. London: Milford. 7s. 6d.
- Aristotle, Works.* Translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. Vol. 9, *Ethica Nicomachea*, by W. D. Ross, *Magna Moralia*, by St. George Stock, *Ethica Eudemia de virtutibus et vitiis*, by J. Solomon. London: Milford. 15s.
- BEESON, C. H. *A Primer of Medieval Latin*, an anthology of prose and poetry. (Lake Classical Series). Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co. Pp. 389. \$2.00.
- BOLLING, G. M. *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer.* London: Milford. Pp. 271. 21s.
- Catullus. Poems.* Done into English verse by Hugh Macnaughten. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 165. 5s.
- COOK, A. B. *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion.* Vol. 2, Zeus, god of the dark sky (Thunder and Lightning). Part 1, Text, Notes. Part 2, Appendices, Index. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 902, 542. Set, 168s.
- DAVIS, W. S. *A Day in Old Rome*, a picture of Roman life in textbook form. Boston: Allyn. Pp. 506. \$1.80.
- DIEHL, E. *Anthologia Lyrica.* III. Iamborum Scriptores. IV. Poetae Melici, monodia. V. Peplus Aristoteles, carmina popularia, poetae Alexandrini. Supplementum, index auctorum papyrorum librorum. Leipzig: Teubner. M. 2.40, 3.60, 3.60, 3.60, .50.
- DILL, SIR SAMUEL. *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age.* London: Macmillan. 18s.
- FARNELL, L. R. *The Attributes of God* (Gifford Lectures, 1924-5). London: Milford. Pp. 293. 12s. 6d.
- GARDINER, E. N. *Olympia, Its History and Remains.* Illustrated. London: Milford. Pp. 336. 50s.
- GRISSET, E. *Il Problema di Giovenale.* Pinerolo: Ferrero.

- GRUNDY, G. M. *A History of the Greek and Roman World*. London: Methuen. 22s. 6d.
- GUTHRIE, K. S. *Proclus's Life, Work, and Hymns*. (Masterkey Edition). London: Luzac. Pp. 309. 25s.
- GUTHRIE, K. S. *The Modernized Restored Mithraic Mysteries*. A poetic drama of interior initiation. Stencilled in typewriting. London: Luzac. Pp. 175. 17s. 6d.
- HARRINGTON, K. P. *Medieval Latin*. (College Latin Series). Boston: Allyn. Pp. xxix + 698. \$2.80.
- HIELSCHER. *Picturesque Italy*. New York: Brentano. \$7.50.
- Homère, *Iliade, Chants I et II*. Annotés par M. V. Magnien. Paris: Hachette. Fr. 2.50.
- HUBBARD, WILFRANC. *Shadows on the Palatine*, a novel of life in ancient Rome. New York: Minton, Balch. Pp. 259. \$2.50.
- HUGHES, A. A. *Via Caesaris*. London: Longmans. 2s.
- HUTCHINSON, W. M. L. *The Golden Porch*, a book of Greek fairy tales. New Edition, illustrated by Dugald S. Walker. London: Longmans. Pp. 314. 7s. 6d.
- JOHANSEN, P. *Phidias and the Parthenon Sculptures*. Translated by I. Andersen. London: Gyldendal. Pp. 136. 10s. 6d.
- LINDSAY, W. M., Editor. *Palaeographia Latina*, Part 4. (Saint Andrews University Publications). 5s.
- LORIMER, W. L. *Some Notes on the Text of Pseudo-Aristotle de Mundo*. (Saint Andrews University Publications). Pp. 160. 5s.
- MACKAIL, J. W. *Classical Studies*. London: Murray. Pp. 261. 7s. 6d.
- MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. *The Colophons of the Iliad and Odyssey*. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. 21. 1s.
- NEWBIGIN, MARION J. *The Mediterranean Lands*; an introductory study in human and historical geography. Maps. New York: Knopf. Pp. 222.
- Ovid. Elegies*. Translated by Christopher Marlowe. Together with the epigrams of Sir John Davies. With decorations engraved on wood by John Nash. (Haslewood Books). London: Etchells. Pp. 116. 12s. 6d.
- PHILLIMORE, J. S., Editor. *The Silver Latin Book*. Part 1. London: Stenhouse. Pp. 250. 5s.
- POWELL, J. U. *Collectanea Alexandrina*. Reliquiae minores po-

etarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae, 323-146 A. C. Oxford University Press. 28s.

SEGL, F. *Vom Kentrites bis Trapezus*. Eine Bestimmung des Weges der Zehntausend durch Armenien. Erlangen: Büttner. Pp. 60.

THYNNE, ROGER. *The Churches of Rome*. 46 plates. London: K. Paul. Pp. 492. 12s. 6d.

WEATHERHEAD, H. T. C. *Short Chapters on Ancient History*. Illustrated. Sheldon Press. Pp. 94. 1s. 6d.

WRIGHT, F. A. *The Poets of the Greek Anthology*. With biographical and critical preface. (Broadway Translations). London: Routledge. Pp. 272. 7s. 6d.